WHITE MINDS/BLACK IMAGES: A STUDY IN IMAGERY AND MORAL JUDGMENT

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To Vicki, Jodi, and Douglas

--who supported me more
often than I them

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INTRODUCTION

America as a nation has entered the decade of the 1970's in a state of creative potentiality. Amidst this state of potentiality is the ever sensitive and seemingly always present reality of that "racial problem." Black and white--two basically innocuous colors in the broad range of bright and striking colors in the color spectrum--when attached to the epidermal covering of the human animal take on a significance that often stretches the boundaries of reason. Almost magically these two colors clash creating a reality that holds within itself a wide range of meanings and shapes--hate and love, fear and joy, dejection and hope. What does such a reality look like in its wholeness? What are the numerous folds that make up the fabric of the racial problem? What are some of the facets of this diamond in the rough?

Rationale for this study

Perhaps there are "folds and facets" of this reality in America called euphemistically "the racial problem" that have been ignored, or if not ignored, then overlooked. At least it is my firm belief that this is the case and upon that conviction I wish to explore the potential folds and facets that may have been overlooked in the now numerous studies

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that have been produced in this area. One could ask, and rightly so, "Why yet another study of black/white relations in America?" A rather despairing question undoubtedly, but one that should be answered as well as one knows how. The first and most fundamental reason that one undertakes an intellectual foray into any problem, though he may not immediately admit it, resides in the fact that the problem intrigues him. There seems to be something that has been overlooked in the way others have analyzed the problem and if one has more than an ounce of intellectual curiosity, he finds himself trying to unravel the labyrinth of tangled ingredients that constitute that problem's reality. My conviction is that much has been overlooked in the field of black/white relations and that because so many people have studied, analyzed, and written on this problem, the challenge to attempt a more comprehensive understanding is even greater.

In addition to personal interest and my own intellectual curiosity, to undertake a study of this problem also has practical implications. In one sense of the word, I have become a sort of "rational man par excellence," meaning that I firmly believe that a clearer understanding and disentangling of the problems that man has created for himself will in some small modicum increase his ability to do something about his problems. Vilfredo Pareto once wrote, "He who thinks to abolish hostility cuts holes in water." Needless to say, I do not entirely agree with Pareto. Abolish it, no!

But reduce it, yes! I believe it is possible to reduce hostility, hate, fear, and frustration through a clearer grasp of what it is that constitutes a problem, for so much of hostility is based on a lack of understanding and communication.

The first value of a clearer understanding should of course be a clearer self-understanding, for unless that is forthcoming, further implications of understanding and communication are nipped in the bud. But a second value of understanding is understanding between peoples, across racial, class, religious and national boundaries. The emphasis in this study is primarily on the former of these two and in that direction I hope to add several new ingredients to an already well-cooked and over-flowing pot. These additional ingredients will be introduced shortly, but a little background leading up to this particular study will give those ingredients greater clarity of meaning.

Background for this study

This study is the stepchild of an earlier project that I conducted in the summer of 1968.[1] 1968 was the year that Bantam Books published the probably long forgotten Kerner Commission Report.[2] This report, commissioned by the U.S. Government to study the problems that had created the conditions for and led to what were called at that time "racial riots," came to the conclusion that the major underlying cause of the riots and of racial conflict was what it called "white racism." That proved to be a fox dropped in the midst of a chicken pen, for it caused a fantastic, but only momentary, rash of responses. In fact, the euphemism "white racism" became very loosely used and stood as the basis for all manner of threats, accusations, and disclaimers. It seemed reasonable in that rather confused historical moment to attempt to penetrate some of the deeper meanings of the phrase "white racism" and the 1968 study was focused primarily on white racism *vis-avis* blacks in America. The following statement was made at the beginning of that study:

> The very vagueness of the term white racism has made it somewhat difficult to define the issues at stake. Is white racism just another name for prejudice? Does it refer to the complacency of middle-class America? Does white racism signify an overly zealous advocacy of Anglo-Saxon virtues? In the light of the very variety of its uses and connotations, defining white racism becomes a necessary but not so easily accomplished assignment. Yet, it seems desirable, if not mandatory, to reply to the above questions and to attempt to communicate more meaningfully *with* white Americans *about* white Americans. As the phrase white racism is used today many whites not only do not comprehend in what ways their attitudes and activities adversely affect blacks, but they also resent the hostility they feel directed toward them when the term is used.[3]

A primary theoretical position of this statement and of our 1968 study was that (1) given the fact that changes were taking place so pervasively in the general ethos of the nation all during the 1960's, and (2) that less and less *overt* structural and substantial support was being offered for *overt* prejudice and discrimination toward blacks, it was highly probable that more subtle and more hidden means of prejudice would develop and find some form of rationalization.

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In other words, we were not ready to believe that prejudice toward blacks in one form or another was about to disappear from the social and cultural scene. But we did, and do, believe that in times of rapid social change, a sort of differentiation process takes place such that where one or two ways of viewing blacks may have been dominant before, new ways of viewing blacks now arise.

What has occurred rather rapidly and recently, then, is a movement in which a social context that supported quite readily a legitimatized, outspoken, intensive and active prejudice and discrimination against blacks is no longer nearly so evident. Black militancy, black separatism, black self-dignity and self-determination, and a few successes in black efforts to win their rights has challenged and been somewhat successful in changing the social ethos and the social structure. What is resulting, however, is a situation in which more subtle, less vindictive ways of viewing blacks are developing, but which still have within them the potential of being prejudicial and discriminatory through indirect and often not understood ways. We might call this a kind of "polite prejudice."

Gertrude Selznick and Stephen Steinberg call our attention to this idea:

> The social discrimination of the educated is often construed to mean that they are just as prejudiced and secretly hold the same sterotypes of Negroes as do the uneducated. A good deal of evidence indicates that this is not so. . . . The mere fact that pejorative images of Negroes

> exist and are widespread stigmatizes Negroes; and social uneasiness may persist among whites *even when they reject traditional stereotypes* as false and unjust. This phenomenon, commonly called polite prejudice, is properly characterized as prejudice, but it cannot be equated with the acceptance of virulent and blatant stereotypes.[4]

Without accepting their hypothesis that education is the causative factor in creating this difference, the intriguing idea of "polite prejudice" stands as a gateway to a new and more comprehensive understanding of black/white relations. The problem is, Selznick and Steinberg give us no clues as to what constitutes polite prejudice.

My belief is that there are several different patterns that this polite prejudice may take among whites and among whites who do not necessarily see themselves as prejudiced at all.[5] In this sense, these different forms of polite prejudice *may* be equally as bad as the "virulent and blatant stereotypes" to which these authors refer. This is true, on one hand, because it is a more subtle and possibly even preconscious type of prejudice, and therefore has a double-edged potential for being harmful both to the one harboring it and to those about whom it is held.

Now someone could argue, if he takes an "intentional" point of view, that these forms of polite prejudice are not so bad because, after all, the intentions of the holder are not bad and in fact may be quite innocent. Perhaps. However, the social consequences of such a prejudice and the position and point of view of the victims are ignored in such an argument. In a society where ethnic and racial differences are still viewed as cause for lack of complete acceptance, the "good intention" or the "innocent bystander's" actions and/or inactions can still have bad results, or at least less than innocent results. Whatever the rationale put forth, existence of polite prejudice still helps to create and promulgate orientations toward blacks--and others as well--that result in their being to some degree socially, culturally, and/or religiously unacceptable. "They" are still viewed as outsiders.

The approach and structure of this study

We have moved some distance in our discussion from the study of 1968 that started this whole inquiry. But based on the results of that study and insights like the one noted from Selznick and Steinberg, my interest grew for pursuing the study of the more intricate interworkings of black/white relations in this country.

A rather significant problem arose however. By this time my theoretical understanding of the differentiated ways in which whites could possibly view blacks had moved far beyond the way in which practically every other study of majority/minority relations had theoretically been framed. I had come to believe that several different orientation patterns toward blacks could be identified and developed, classified, and analyzed. These ranged from the normal stereotypic pattern of intense prejudice against blacks, all the way to an opposite extreme in which whites would be found to be hyperidentified with blacks and would hold an intense prejudice in favor of blacks, with several orientational patterns inbetween. As support for this purported theoretically differentiated schema, I had noted that the authors of The Authoritarian Personality (1950) had concluded fairly early in their work that prejudice is generalized. But they did not explore in any depth the possibility that whereas the tendency to perceive of and reject out-groups is general, the perceptions of different racial and ethnic groups may be quite varied, and that within any given population there may be various perceptions of the same social, ethnic, or racial groups.

As a further search of the literature in the field of majority/minority relations continued, it became obvious that I was treading on virgin territory because it became nearly impossible to find any other works that would give theoretical and empirical foundations on which to build this study. Nearly all other studies had framed their theoretical propositions and designed their research instruments on the idea that prejudice could be studied basically as a "single, coherent, negative, hostile unidimensional, all-of-a-piece" phenomenon. My thinking had led me to search in just the opposite direction.

This was an exciting, but yet rather startling and frightening discovery. Exciting because an approach to the study of black/white relations was developing that was fresh and unique. Startling and frightening because if my hunch was right, I would have to start at the ground level and build from there. If, as I have argued, the ways in which whites orient themselves toward blacks are more subtle and more differentiated than had been previously theorized, then a new means of measuring these subtleties and differentiations would have to be developed. But the problem did not stop there. Nearly all of the previous studies in this field had also used as their primary concepts for comprehending white's views of blacks the concepts of beliefs and attitudes. To my way of thinking, this was not good enough primarily because the concepts of beliefs and attitudes do not really get us into the heart of the matter. If we are going to understand fundamentally how it is that whites see, feel, and "live" the reality of blackness, it is necessary to have a more pervasive conceptualization of the relationships than beliefs and attitudes. Beliefs and attitudes only get at what whites think and feel about blacks. This conceptualization constitutes a distantiated, "standoffish" way of approaching how whites feel themselves toward blacks. As a matter of fact, it may not ultimately say much about how whites incorporate blackness as a part of their "lived reality." It may only tell us how whites tend to rationalize their views of blacks.

It was now apparent to me that if I were to be able to approach this subject in a way at all satisfying and meaningful, I would have to develop a different, more comprehensive conceptualization of how to understand the way in which whites see blacks and do it before any further work could proceed. Chapter I is that beginning.

In Chapter I I introduce and develop an argument for a new conceptual foundation to the study of black/white relations called the concept of "images," actively conceived of as "imaging." To give the reader a foretaste of what is contained in the development of this concept, three basic propositions that guided the unfolding of Chapter I are stated here. Images are:

> (1) Internal "pictures" or representations, which are (2) "in-formed" in part by the external environment that constitutes our lived world, but which, in turn significantly "form for themselves" (i.e. make to "con-form") that external reality, (3) and in this active process of imaging act to formulate "knowing" and "meaning."

Chapter I presents my argument of this concept and details why I developed it for this study rather than using the traditional concepts of belief and attitude.

Chapter II proceeds to take the general concept of image and imaging down to a more concrete level. If a more comprehensive and differentiated theoretical base is to be tested, it is first necessary to develop some descriptive material which can be tested empirically. In Chapter II, I first discuss the way in which previous studies have conceptualized prejudice, framing as they do their studies in a unidimensional, single, coherent and negative framework. I then proceed to develop my own framework, which is multidimensional, multiple in pattern, and ranging from stereotypically negative to stereotypically positive in orientation.

Five distinct and differentiated image patterns are developed that become something like a series of image profiles standing as a basis for five different ways in which whites might orient themselves toward blacks.

In Chapter III a step back is taken in order to interject a methodological interlude. In this chapter the methodology for the various phases of data gathering is described and an explanation of how the new research intrument designed specifically for this study was developed. Chapter III constitutes a rather pedestrian and practical chapter placed in the midst of more substantial theoretical and analytical chapters on either side.

Having laid the theoretical and methodological groundwork, the point inevitably arrives at which one's theories, and hypotheses based on those theories, have to be tested. Chapter IV contains this rather heavy freight. It consists of three parts. The first part discusses the construction of indexes for measuring different image dimensions and image patterns. The second part displays the evidence with regard to the hypothesis in Chapter II on multidimensionality. The third part shows the empirical evidence related to the hypothesis in Chapter II on differentiated image patterns. Chapter IV stands as a pivotal chapter to the whole study because the results of analysis there determine whether or not later chapters need be written.

Chapter V does materialize, giving evidence first of all that the findings in Chapter IV were generally supportive

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of the hypotheses set forth. Chapter V plays an important role in this study because it breaks new ground. In Chapters I through IV the focus has been developing the concept of images and imaging, and in turn applying it to and empirically testing it in the issue of black/white relations. Chapter V broadens the focus and begins to explore the question of the relationship of patterns of images of blacks to morality. For me this is an exciting exploration because (1) the concern of morality as an intrinsic factor in the study of black/white relations has virtually been ignored, and (2) because I am deeply interested in the place of morality as it helps determine one's actions in the human community.

The first part of Chapter V discusses why I think the issue of morality has been ignored in social science studies of black/white relations. The second part then introduces one method of studying morality that I use in this study. The approach taken in relating morality to black/white relations is to look at it through the way people make moral decisions and judgments. In other words, in this exploration the intent is not to focus on an ethnographic description of the subject's particular moral knowledge and awareness of cultural or subcultural values. Rather, the focus is on a broader plane, analyzing how people make decisions about moral action, the basis upon which people decide to act, the "rules of the game," so to speak, that are considered essential in deciding how people in general ought to act and in deciding when they themselves will or will not act on a moral issue. As will be

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shown, this is a helpful addition to understanding why people respond in the way they do to the racial issue.

Finally, Chapter VI presents some empirical evidence pertaining to imaging of blacks and morality, discussing (1) how the two might be interrelated to produce a deeper understanding of one's response to blacks, and (2) the relationship of both as they are related to level of education. Relating morality and imagery of blacks to level of education will enable us to discover whether the data we have in this study supports a rather popular theory that level of education goes a long way in explaining the amount and type of prejudice one holds.

One further point must be made and made sharply. This study intends to focus solely on the investigation of how whites experience blacks and on why whites respond to the racial issue as they do. Franz From, in his book Perceptions of Other People states this intention well:

> [This book] . . . does not deal with the question of how others, in some sense of the word, 'factually' are, but with the question of how they manifest themselves in our experience. Consequently, I am not discussing the question of how to ascertain the 'factual' nature of other people.[6] [Emphasis added]

Nor am I. In no way am I intending or attempting to show how blacks see themselves as behaving or see their own characteristics. As this study unfolds, the images described and analyzed herein are not to be considered as in some sense depicting a kind of "factual existence" of blacks as blacks see it. Not at all. Rather, I think it is of utmost importance to attempt to show how blacks are perceived by whites, for _this_ is the basis upon which whites are involved with and respond to blacks. This point is made in order to forestall any who would attempt to distort the intent of this study and argue that, once again, another white honky is trying to "colonize" blacks by describing how _they_ feel, what _they_ do, and what _they_ think.

It is precisely because this is not the intent herein that I feel this study is important. It is time that an attempt be made in a broader, more comprehensive way to delineate how whites view blacks for the following two reasons. First, too much energy and time has been spent already on whites studying blacks. Secondly, the study of whites is the more crucial for whites, because if one is concerned with the problem of black/white interaction and the problems existing therein, then more intensive attempts are yet to be made to discover the varying ways in which whites orient themselves toward blacks. After all, _this_ is the basis upon which whites respond to blacks. Whites do not act toward blacks, interpret and explain black behavior, and predict future behavior of blacks on the basis of how blacks see themselves, but rather on how whites perceive blacks as being, doing, and moving. These are two different phenomena.

I would add finally that the degree to which these two phenomena _are_ _congruent_ with each other is the degree to which the potential is present for communication, meaningful interaction, and perhaps even some resolutions of existing problems. To the degree that these two phenomena are not congruent, the potential is present for further conflict, ever increasing failure in communication, and the creation of more problems than are resolved.

The reader now has before him an overview that gains him entrance to the remainder of this work. Let's proceed, beginning with the development of the conceptual base.

CHAPTER I

IMAGES AND IMAGING: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

> I am an invisible man. . . . it is as though I have been surrounded by mirrors of hard, distorting glass. When they approach me they see only my surroundings, themselves, or figments of their imagination--indeed, everything and anything except me. . . . That invisibility to which I refer occurs because of a peculiar disposition to the eyes of those with whom I come in contact. A matter of the construction of their inner eyes, those eyes with which they look through their physical eyes upon reality.
>
> --Ralph Ellison
> Invisible Man

Sigmund Freud, during the years when he was waging his fight to convince others of the significance of his theory, made the following observations:

> The view is often defended that sciences should be built upon clear and sharply defined basal concepts. In actual fact no science, not even the most exact, begins with such definitions. The true beginning of scientific activity consists rather in describing phenomena and then in proceeding to group, classify and correlate them.[1]

This expresses something of my feeling as I begin to discuss the concept of images as a basis for the study of prejudice.[2] When embarking upon theoretical waters that are as unclear as these, what does one say about images? We might begin by trying to define images, but that would seem to be unwise procedure, for images are connotative more than denotative.

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We might begin by giving illustrations or analogies, but illustrations and analogies attempting to express directly the meaning of images are easily misunderstood unless some common frame of reference from which to infer an understanding is first developed. Thus, the purpose of this chapter is to convery a sense of the theoretical meaning of the concept of image by describing something of what images are and theoretically why they play an important role in the behavior of man.

To assist in this procedure, the following three propositions are offered as guides to give the discussion some unification of development. These propositions begin with a static description of images and move to an analysis of the dynamic role of images in human behavior, and as such stand as the basis of the attempt later in this thesis to begin to locate, classify, and group images. Propositionally then, images are:

> (1) Internal "pictures" or representations, which are (2) "in-formed" in part by the external environment that constitutes our lived world, but which, in turn significantly "form for themselves" (i.e. make to "con-form") that external reality, (3) and in this *active* process of *imaging* act to formulate "knowing" and "meaning."

Images: Internal "Pictures" or "Representations"

Walter Lippmann, in an attempt to convey a sense of the complexity of the roots of social behavior, relates a delightful story from G. K. Chesterton's "The Mad Hatter and the Sane Householder" (Vanity Fair, January, 1921, p. 54.):

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> Four men may meet under the same lamp post; one to paint it pea green as part of a municipal reform; one to read his breviary in the light of it; one to embrace it with accidental ardour in a fit of alcoholic enthusiasm; and the last merely because the pea green post is a conspicuous point of rendezvous with his young lady. But to expect this to happen night after night is unwise. . . .[3]

Metaphorically, Lippmann is illustrating the folly of attempting to tell how man will behave over a period of time by simply observing what he does on any given occasion. The complexity of man's behavior is increased, as this story suggests, by the fact that *what man does is predicated upon what and how he "sees"* that toward which he intends his action. Man *acts* on the basis of the "pictures in the mind" which he holds of his surrounding environment. Significantly,

> . . . what each man does is based not on direct and certain knowledge, but on pictures made by himself or given to him. If his atlas tells him that the world is flat he will not sail near what he believes to be the edge of our planet for fear of falling off. If his maps include a fountain of eternal youth, a Ponce de Leon will go in quest of it. If someone digs up yellow dirt that looks like gold, he will for a time act exactly as if he had found gold. *The way in which the world is imagined determines at any particular moment what men will do*. [Emphasis added][4]

This final sentence is the key to this inquiry, for it is a central part of this thesis that indeed there is more to man's behavior than meets the eye or ear, *or* which is expressed in simple beliefs about someone or something.

It is important, then, to understand descriptively first just what images are. Perhaps the simplest statement that can be made is that an image is an internal sensory mental picture of an objective, concrete reality. In this simplest

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form, then, an image is a structural configuration of an object that we may or may not have actually experienced in an object/subject type of encounter. At this level it can be said that the image has shape, i.e. structure; it may have physical characteristics such as color, depth, or smell; and it may exist as a discreet entity in the mind. In other words, it has a concreteness about it.

But it would be quite unlikely that an individual with only one image extant in his mind could be found. Actuality would find many images existing in any one individual's mind and this begins to complexify our description. At any one time, an individual has within his mind untold numbers of images, which, by focusing attention on a particular subject, are brought into an active role in behavior. These images may be of himself, of other human beings, or of other animate and inanimate objects in the world; and even, I suppose, of objects not actually found in the world, what we might call, "a figment of one's imagination."

To summarize, images are mental structures having form and sensory qualities, which may exist as discreet images, but are in some sort of complex relationship with each other. Images are a form of representation, i.e. they represent how we "see" the world. As such, they represent reality for us and form the basis by which we relate to that reality. Images are fundamental and radical.

Yet, not all images are as concrete as others. Perhaps the image is of a very large "universe" rather than a smaller signification. For example, my image of God may be less concrete, in a linear, material sense, than an image of my hand. Or, perhaps the image is of some "object" that I have never encountered personally, but only have been told about, e.g. I have never seen a soccor game but have been told that it has similarities to football. Thus, when we are trying to "identify" images that people have, we may find in some cases that the images will be quite concrete and clear, and can be easily spotted. For example, one person may say of blacks that they have ugly facial features (large lips, dilated nostrils, etc.). In this case we have a clear-cut picture of what this person "sees." However, in another case we may find a person who says, "All blacks look alike and I can't tell them apart. This makes them mysterious to me." In this case the image is quite amorphous and devoid of concreteness, but is nevertheless an image--an image that has a definite effect upon how the subject feels and no doubt on how he will behave.

We have arrived at the point, therefore, where it can be said that images--as internal forms of reality--will determine *what we perceive* of our surrounding world and *how we perceive* it. Images have a selective and an interpretative function in the acting human being.

But it is important that we have before us a clear understanding of the meaning of "perceive" as used in this context. It is not being used in the more common way, which denotes a kind of passive occurrence in which some stimulus

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enters the eye and makes an imprint on the retina. Far from it. The stem of the word "perceive" is the Latin word _capere_, meaning "to take" or "to seize." The core meaning of perceive connotes a directed wilful and meaningful action. To argue therefore that images are crucial as a means of perception is to argue that images are far from static receptacles that hold inert substance. Images are active, living formulations in the mind which function as a means of "knowing" and as a source of "meaning." We must not speak only of images, but of imaging as well. However, we are getting ahead of ourselves by discussing imaging as an active process at this point. Before doing that, we must first discuss the second of our three propositions.

Images: . . . "In-formed" in Part by the External Environment that Constitutes Our "Lived" World but Which, in Turn, Significantly "Form for Themselves" (i.e. Make to "Con-form") That External Reality.

The discussion thus far has given an incomplete, static understanding of images, but has constituted a necessary first step for a full comprehension of images. Furthermore, it has been implied in calling images internal representations of our external world that there is another side to images--that which is external to the image that forms it. Let's turn to this for a moment.[5]

As was made clear in the introductory chapter, our concern is with the problem of black/white relations. That is, given the existence of our current stage of sociocultural development, we want to understand something of the images that white people sustain toward a specific racial group in this society, namely blacks. Our starting point is a given point in time, and we want to identify, classify, and relate certain viable images that people hold. To do this, images as internal representations of blacks will be looked upon as primarily internalized images that have been formed by the interaction of the individual with the social and physical environments in which he has resided during the course of his development.[6] Every human community from the most microscopic to the most macroscopic has within it a corpus of institutional structures, organizations, norms and values, all of which are raw material for the developing individual to internalize as a part of his identity. Thus, a corpus of images exists in society to provide the pattern to which growth may aspire--a range of metaphoric identities. Some of these are quite concrete, e.g. written legal codes, roles, occupations, specific institutions; others are more general, e.g. customs, mores, and values. Depending on the social group, religious tradition, and countless other possible determinants into which an individual is born and develops, he will begin to internalize images that contribute toward giving him a sense of who he is and why he is. Indeed, in this process there will be many conflicts because only in the most primitive and segmental of societies is there anything like a simple unilinear set of images. Now, this last statement is an extremely important point, for it is this multiplicity of possibilities that helps us to understand why prejudice, as one problem, cannot be seen as unidimensional. The existence of differing images and image patterns of blacks in a society will have the consequence of producing different belief and attitude patterns. Differing images and image patterns will have the consequence of producing differing meanings and understandings of blacks, resulting in different motivations for behaving toward them in a particular way. As Lippmann made clear in his illustration, different people may appear at the same place, or respond to other people in similar ways, but their motivation for doing so may be quite diffuse. It follows from this that, though the behavior may be similar, we cannot understand that behavior or effectively bring about a change in behavior until we have understood the motivational roots that cause that behavior. This motivational root I believe to be closely related to images.

The other side of image as internal representation is, then, the socio-cultural matrix out of which it is formed. Images do come from some external object(s) that they represent.[7] However, care must be taken here. I do not want to fall into the fallacious argument that there exists a split between the subject (the one holding an image) and the object (the one of whom the image is held)--between the image as internal representation and the object that it represents. Rather I want to argue that subject and object are interconnected and interactional and that through the concept of image and imaging such a dichotomizing result can be overcome.[8] I contend that the traditional use of the concept of "belief" in the study of prejudice was not a satisfactory way of understanding prejudice, precisely because it carried us directly into the fallacy of the subject/object dichotomy. As such, it resulted in a distantiated, static understanding of prejudice. On the other hand, images as a basis for the study of prejudice will move us further toward a dynamic understanding of prejudice and toward an understanding that will give a deeper and broader view of prejudice and therefore a higher degree of predictability.

Images and beliefs

How and why does the use of the concept of image in the study of prejudice overcome the fallacy of the subject/object dichotomy and advance our theory of prejudice over the concept of beliefs? The following discussion of the linguistic patterns of "image" and "belief" will serve as an overture toward answering this question.

Traditionally in the social and behavioral sciences, beliefs, along with attitudes,[9] have been the principle mode by which an assessment concerning the problems of prejudice has been made. Technically, belief was seen as primarily related to cognition and cognitive elements of prejudice--i.e. belief was considered to contain substantive content which was seen as neutral.[10] Then by bringing values in from the side, these beliefs were suffused with an evaluation and the result was a particular attitude toward some object.

The theoretical difficulty with this formulation, however, is immediately implied in the form and structure that a question must take when inquiring about one's beliefs. The necessary procedure is to ask, "What are your beliefs about blacks?" Immediately, the underlying assumption is exposed, for the use of the term "about" sets apart the person responding from the one about whom he is speaking. The use of "about" here is as a preposition. In turning to Webster's Dictionary, we find the common definition of "about" as a preposition to be "near," "not far from in time," or "that to which reference is made,"[11] all of which suggest movement toward an object, but little, if any, participation with and in that object. This suggests, then, that "belief" is uncommonly used as a "function" word, i.e. a word that is involved with that toward which it is held. The more common understanding and use of "belief" can best be illustrated from the literature on prejudice. One such illustration is this quote from Martin Fishbein.

> . . . (1) an individual holds many beliefs about any given object . . . ; (2) associated with each of the related objects is a mediating evaluative response, i.e. an attitude; (3) these evaluating responses summate; (4) through the mediation process, the summated evaluative response is associated with an attitude object, and thus (5) on future occasions the attitude object will elicit this summated evaluative response, i.e. this attitude. [Emphasis added][12]

The tone and intent of this quote is without involvement--speaking "about" another with repeated emphasis on the other as "object." The subject does not relate to the object of his belief. The belief is impersonal and separated from the object, not personal and not participational.

Upon turning to the concept of image, however, there is a much different sense, and the language clearly suggests it. No longer do we find separation, for when using the term "image," we of necessity use the phrase "image of"--"What is your image of blacks?" The word "of" suggests a symbiotic relationship between the one holding the image and the one being, or that which is, imaged. Upon referring to Webster's, this word "of" is defined almost exclusively as a function word, meaning that it carries within itself the connotation of action, being active in, participating; whereas, "about" is almost never used in this capacity. Images, therefore, are the means by which we "live" the other whom we image, and this is more fundamental than simply believing something about an other.[13]

By using the concept of "image of" an other, we can come then to a theoretical understanding that carries within itself an active, participational, lived relationship to the "other" of whom the image is held. "Image of" an other demands that an image is an internal representation of someone or something else ("in-formed") and that it also plays an important role in determining for us who the other is and what he means for us (it "forms for itself").[14]

To comprehend fully the significant implications of this last idea, we must move ahead to our third proposition and discuss the *function of images*.

But before doing so, a brief summary is in order. At this point in the discussion we have developed a concept giving a new dimension to the study of prejudice. "Image of" others has the advantage over "belief about" others in that it gives us a concept with which to work that is more fundamental to the motivational system of man than is belief. Belief has too much of the simple cognitive nature about it that fails to be significantly interconnected with an "other." Conversely, through the concept of image, prejudice is to be understood *as a function of* the images held and not something separate and distinct. In this way one can begin to see how it is that whites who hold images of blacks are symbiotically related to them, even though separated by space, time, status or economics. Now in order to understand more clearly the idea behind prejudice as a function of the images held, let's turn to discuss the function of images.

Images: . . . and in this Active Process of Imaging Act to Formulate "Knowing" and "Meaning."

A discussion of function of images implies a discussion of the active nature of images, the "moving" nature of images. Consequently, we must now move to a discussion of imag-*ing*. Imaging is the process that forms the bridge between the subject who holds the image and the other who is the substance of the image--i.e. imaging is the process by which the other

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is possessed, experienced, understood, and known. Further, the imaging process is that process wherein "meaning" is created that makes it possible for us, subjects that we are, to see and understand the external world, object that it is. Thus, in the imaging process, the dichotomy between subject and object is further overcome by what might be called "imaginative participation."[15] Now, a number of important ideas are stated or implied in this opening paragraph. It is necessary to develop them further.

To begin, one of the ideas noted concerned "understanding." Recall that earlier in this chapter Lippmann was quoted as saying that what each man does is based ". . . not on direct and certain knowledge, but on pictures made by himself or given to him."[16] We are now in a position to understand more precisely what he was intending, and in order to do so, it is necessary to differentiate between two forms of understanding (knowing). To help make this differentiation, I will use the sociologist as an example.

The sociologist as a social scientist has at least two modes of operation by which he may understand.[17] These two realms will be called--for want of better terminology--the "instrumental mode of knowing" and the "expressive mode of understanding."

The first, the instrumental mode, is that area of knowing in which we "know" certain "facts" about our environment (social and physical) which have been established to be consistent, and if not universal, at least likely to occur

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with a high degree of regularity. While this mode has been more clearly and indubitably developed in the natural and physical sciences, even for the sociologist there are certain "facts" of this sort that he learns to trust as a sociologist. This is the mode that has found validation through carefully controlled research and one which the sociologist can say without too much hedging that it is objective factual knowledge--or as we might say, the realm of "cold, hard facts." And it is in this realm that the sociologist, qua sociologist, is told and comes to believe that he is working as a professional.

But this mode of knowing, taken alone and accepted as a mode of knowing in which the sociologist can work exclusively, leads to a myopic view of reality for the sociologist. It ignors another area that is just as crucial to the understanding of human behavior--including the sociologist's behavior--namely, the expressive mode of understanding. This mode is not based on "certain knowledge" garnered through research and careful systematic observation, but is rather that way of understanding formulated more directly through experience--i.e. our knowledge of the world through seeing, reading, hearing, and touching. This means of understanding is less systematic, less formal, more personal, more intimate and more significant. The instrumental mode answers for and explains only a very minute portion of our behavioral interactions with our social and physical environment during the day, while the expressive mode serves as a basis for responding in all other situations.[18]

However, to argue this last point literally and in full would be absurd. Our social and physical environment is altogether too big, too complex and too fleeting in order for us to have *direct* acquaintance with it in its entirety. We are not equipped to deal with so much subtlety, so much variety, so many permutations and combinations. Therefore, since we do act in such an environment and since man does have the propensity to make his environment personally his, we have to reconstruct it on a simpler model--securing maps to deal with what William James called the "blooming, buzzing confusion" of everyday reality in order to manage it. The implications here are highly significant, because *there are many different ways in which different people will make different parts* of that environment personally their own. This is where imaging becomes significant, for while there are many ways to perceive the environment in which we live and, just as importantly, different ways of perceiving differently any one portion of that environment, each of us has certain perceptions of that environment that are more meaningful to us than others--i.e. each of us has sets of images by which we relate ourselves to the surrounding environment.[19]

Thus, again we have affirmed and added further understanding to what was broached in the discussion above--that images are an important part of the perceiving function. Imaging is the giving of one's attention to some aspects of the surrounding environment and not to others, a saying of "yes" to some parts and "no" to others; the imputing of significant, personal meaning to some parts of the environment and not to others.

But now, if we are going to talk of our surrounding environment as having meaning through imaging, we are then brought abruptly to another potentially important aspect of the concept of images. Pointedly, what role does the concept of image play in determining where various aspects of our surrounding environment will be placed on the "spectrum of meaning," i.e. the evaluating function performed upon that environment--e.g. good/bad? Furthermore, we must consider briefly what part, if any, is played by the active concept of image in the emotive responses we have to the meanings our surrounding environment holds, i.e. sympathy/antipathy.[20]

Images and attitudes

The first question above pertains to the question of the relationship between images and attitudes. To speak about attitudes is to speak of our social and psychological functioning in which we make moral judgments. All of us, in the course of a day's activities, are constantly evaluating--i.e. making moral judgments of--situations that we confront in interaction with our social and physical environment. It is these moral judgments that result in the attitudes we maintain.

I would argue that the concept of image (imaging) plays a very central role in the evaluating process in the following manner. Much confusion reigns in human affairs over the question of moral disagreements. Debates are carried on continually about who is morally right and who is morally wrong in a given state of affairs; whose values are better and whose values are worse. Consequently, we hear continually the accusation that the morals of the nation are deteriorating, the morals of the youth are wrong, and so forth. In actuality, however, this argument would seem to be misplaced, for a great many of the most virulent, seemingly moral, disagreements among various groups in society are not moral at the base at all, but are rather more directly related to the issue of social perception of people and events as they unfold in our surrounding environment. Many of the disagreements that rage are rooted in the diversity and contradictions of our social perceptions more than in our values and morals. All concrete moral judgments of concrete persons or person-related (i.e. personalized) events are based on our "knowledge" of those events, i.e. the way we "see" them. If I judge something to be morally right or wrong, morally good or bad, such a moral judgment is, whether I am aware of it or not, based on my perception of this "something." Through my perception, I impute upon that person or event certain attributes and characteristics and the moral judgment that I make (i.e. the values I bring to bear on it) are only as exact and as useful as my perception. The moral judgment, therefore, is only able to be made as a part of, but not prior to, my image of what is happening and what that happening means. Imaging determines in a significant sense our moral response.

The following example will help clarify this idea. This example concerns the issue of aggression on the part of Group A toward Group B. Let us first establish that both groups firmly disapprove morally of aggression as one of the allegedly supreme wrongs in all human relationships, but on the other hand both groups believe self-defense is morally upright. Let us also establish that on a particular date in history a physical conflict occurred between these groups. During and after the conflict, Group A expressed vehemently unqualified disapproval of Group B's actions. Such an expression on the part of Group A is based on their uncritically accepted perception of the state of affairs that what Group B was doing not only "looked like" aggression, but was "in fact" understood as aggression. But from the point of view (perception) of Group B, it not only did not "look like" aggression on their part, but actually was not understood as aggression; rather it was, they insisted, self-defense, or a fight for freedom and justice. What exists, then, is a situation in which the ". . . very human assumption is that what 'I' or 'we,' and not what 'he' or 'they' perceive as the facts of the situation is actually the relevant reality."[21]

Now let us suppose that in the course of events Group A's image (perception) of what had actually transpired in the above conflict changed to a position much more in accord with the way in which Group B "saw" the sequence of events. It is my argument that in this case the moral judgments would also change radically, and therefore the attitudes would change. For even if Group A felt justified in condemning morally what they perceived to be an act of aggression, they would very likely, in accordance with their values and moral standards, give a strongly approving moral judgment to the actions that they now perceive as self-defense and/or a fight for freedom and justice. What, therefore, has changed and what was so fundamental to a change in their actions is not their values and moral standards, but their image of what was happening. What is so significant here is that their "attitude" has changed because their perception of (imaginative participation with) the other has changed. Thus, the evaluative process is a directly related function of the imaging process.

Kenneth Boulding, in his book The Image, speaks directly to this idea through the use of an analogy. His analogy is of a thermostat (homeostatic control mechanism):

> In a sense, we may say that the concept of the "image" begins in a very rudimentary form at this level. The thermostat has an image of the outside world in the shape of the information regarding its temperature. It has also a value system in the sense of the ideal temperature at which it is set. Its behavior is directed toward the receipt of information which will bring its image and its value system together. When its image of the outside world is "right," that is conforms to its value system, it ceases to act. As long as the image, confirmed by the messages received, does not conform to its value system it acts in order to bring the two together.[22]

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Now of course we must be cautious here and not make this analogy work too hard, for the working of the human motivational system is a much more complex phenomenon than the thermostat. But the basic principle is present. In addition to substantiating the role of images in perception, this analogy shows the interconnectedness of the image and the value system and illustrates that it is indeed the change of perception and the receipt of new "knowledge" that causes a difference in action and not the difference in value systems. This might be illustrated even more clearly if we were to add another thermostat attached to the same action system (the furnace) with its value system set at the same ideal temperature but located in another room where the temperature was perceived to be ten degrees below the "ideal," while the original thermostat was located in an adjoining room in which the temperature was perceived to be ten degrees above the "ideal." We need not carry this analogy further, for the principle of conflict, action, and change is abundantly clear. The thrust of the analogy shows that images guide what is effected by the individual. These image patterns are a means of way finding--a map for the direction of movement. In a broad sense, they serve as a frame of reference for meaning, as organizers of facts and possibilities. They order knowledge and serve in communication, and as such function as a source of action.[23]

At this point, a further important insight can be drawn from the discussion. Namely, the concept of image is central to a clear understanding of social ethics. This is so because the concept of imaging as a means of "making the other our own" forms a bond between subject and object that creates what we might call "empathy." Empathy in this case is the process by which a person "knows" another person and gives him his "factual" knowledge of the other. Empathy is our subjective understanding, the meaning of the other person to us. But empathy, in this case, is not yet, analytically speaking at this point, the affected response, but rather is the basis for such an affected response. Depending, then, on our image of the other (i.e. our participatory relationship with the other) and our moral judgment of such an "imaginative participation," our emotive response may be either sympathy or antipathy.

To refer to the prior example of aggression and self-defense, if our image of the other is that he is aggressing and if our evaluation of aggression is negative, our emotive response will be antipathy. If, on the other hand, our image of the other is that he is acting in self-defense and if our evaluation of self-defense is positive, our emotive response will be sympathy.

From the discussion thus far, it is clear why at the very outset of this chapter the concept of image was called "fundamental and radical." Image is the foundation, the very dynamic core, around which our evaluative and affective systems operate. Thus in the remainder of this chapter the theoretical discussion of images will be brought to a close by showing how the concept of image is involved in the creation of meaning.

In the second proposition it was stated that an image is not only formed by the socio-cultural matrix in which it resides, but in addition, and significantly, that an image ". . .'forms for itself' (i.e. makes to 'con-form') that external reality." Contained in this active "forming for itself" are the roots crucial to the creation of meaning, and as a context for the discussion of imaging as the creation of meaning I present the following quotation from the introductory portion of a paper a student wrote for a recent seminar on the topic of images:

> Kant introduced to philosophy the idea of the Copernican revolution: (i.e.) our knowledge does not confrom to objects, but, rather, objects conform to our knowledge. The human mind is not a "tabula rasa" which passively receives information, but an active instrument which organizes experience according to its structure--the "categories" of understanding. We know nothing of the external object as "thing in itself," only of the object as given in experience, as appearance to our senses, filtered through the categories. . . . it seems as if the same kind of assumption as the Copernican Revolution underlies a theory of images. When we speak of imagery, we are asserting that man makes mental representations of the outside world in order to interpret it; it is a creative response rather than a merely passive one. Man deals not only with facts, but with meaning and possibility.[24]

As this quotation so clearly points out, the human mind is an active, forming participant in what it knows. In fact, understanding is, itself, constitutive of the world. The

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mind is creative and through images of the surrounding world creates the understanding and meaning of that world for the individual and/or the group. Images not only determine what we see in our socio-cultural matrix, but also what it means for us (how we see it).

In the quotation above from Nolan it is stated that "Man deals not only with facts, but with meaning and possibility." Images are a part of this "meaning," because they assist in giving meaning to the whole of life (myth) and as such play an important role in action. Thus we must concern ourselves with images and myth.

Images and myth

We often parcel mythological considerations off to the niches of the universe populated by those called theologians and philosophers. But this is a mistake, for myth plays an important part in everyone's life processes and as such is as much an important element in the social scientist's deliberations as in the theologian's or the philosopher's, especially if the social scientist intends to make his predictions of human behavior comprehensive and meaningful. Myth functions to give a wholeness of meaning to what one does every day of his life. Thus, Alan Watts profoundly notes that "Myth, not meaning falsehood, but in a much deeper sense of the word, is an imagery in terms of which we make sense of life."[25] Or, as Jerome Bruner writes, myth is the ". . . explanations a society offers its young of why the world is and why we do as we do, its pedagogic images of the nature and destiny of man."[26]

What, then, is the relationship of images and myth? Simply this. The mythological framework that gives meaning to life could not do so were it not for the elements that constitute that myth--namely images. The discreet images that any individual has are interrelated (patterned) in such a way as to form a coherent (but not necessarily logical) mythic structure.[27] Therefore, in this way images function to give meaning to life and at the same time act as motivation for action.

However, in order to more specifically locate my own level of concern with images in myth, a distinction is made between two different levels of functioning for myth and therefore for images. On one level we have what might be called the mystical or cosmological function of myth and images. On this level myth functions to reconcile present consciousness with the preconditions of our own existence. This level of myth and image attempts to make sense of the awesome mystery, the monstrous nature of the terrible game that is life. At this level we formulate and render an image of the universe. All things find their place as parts of a single, great holy picture.

The second level of the functioning of myths and images--and the one in which I will be working primarily in this study--lies on the level of validating and maintaining some specific social order in which its moral code is legitimized

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beyond human criticism and change. In this case man is not completely free to establish for himself the social aims of his life, but they are passed on, as it were, from generation to generation.[28] At this level of functioning, myth and image shape individuals to the aims and ideals of their various social groups which bear them on through life from birth to death.[29]

Thus we have the greater and the lesser mythologies and images of mankind which have, says Joseph Campbell,

> . . . up to the present, always served simultaneously, both to lead the young from their estate in nature, and to bear the aging back to nature and on through the last dark door. . . . so that through every feature of the experienced world the sense of an ideal harmony resting on a dark dimension of wonder should be communicated.[30]

Conclusion

In a sense, then, what we are looking for when we set out to study images that are extant in a society through the people in that society is the "plot" that underlies what the individual says and does. Images as plot(s) is the story line, and the story line is what gives us clues to the meaning of one's performance. The story line or plot will have definite effects upon the emotions, the beliefs, the attitudes and the behavior of the individual. We are interested in a person's dramatic plotline that underlies his performance.[31]

An illustration is in order, this time from the literary field. Caroline Spurgeon has written a book entitled Shakespeare's Imagery in which she analyzes the substructure of Shakespeare's tragedies. In this work she shows how the reader or observer is led, almost unwittingly, to conclusions based on the accumulated effects of imagery:

> By recurrent imagery I mean the repetition of an idea or picture in the images used in any one play. Thus in Romeo and Juliet the dominating image is light with its background of darkness, while in Hamlet there hovers all through the play in both words and word pictures the conception of disease, especially of a hidden corruption infecting and destroying wholesome body.[32]

Here we see the use of the recurrent images of disease, i.e. the recurrent use of analogies that point to the image of disease, such as ulcers, cancer, etc. The reader is led to conclude that Prince Hamlet was not really to blame for the demise of the ruling lineage of Denmark, but rather that the whole state of Denmark was diseased. Thus a similarly close attention to imagery in an interview protocol containing "reports" about blacks might enable us to locate telling images of who or what is really to blame for the "plight of the Negro."

The reasons for and significance of the study of prejudice through the study of images should be clearer in the reader's mind by now. The task before us now is to begin to apply this discussion to some empirical data. Thus, by way of adding a capstone to this chapter and offering a gateway into the next chapter, we conclude with a quotation from the seminal work, Images of the Negro in American Literature, by Seymour L. Gross and John Edward Hardy. Gross writes in his introductory chapter:

> The image of the Negro in American literary criticism can . . . be said to have undergone an exquisite reversal in the last one hundred years. For whereas our criticism began by locking the Negro into the fantasy construct of the stereotype, removing him from human consideration to a kind of psychological and moral no-man's land, one recent phase of criticism has interpreted him and his situation as archetypal, as "an image of man's fate," . . . . The grinning ape of nineteenth-century criticism has become, then, the twentieth century's black mask of humanity.[33]

We now turn to a discussion of differing images of blacks as held by whites in America.

CHAPTER II

IMAGES AND IMAGING: A PRACTICAL APPLICATION--WHITE IMAGERY OF BLACKS

> The contemporary . . . world is no longer a cosmos but presents the spectacle of a battlefield of warring parties and conflicting doctrines. Not only does each of the conflicting factions have its own set of interests and purposes, but each has its picture of the world in which the same objects are accorded quite different meanings and values.
>
> --Louis Wirth
> Preface, Ideology and Utopia

Developing the concept of image has opened the door for a new theoretical perspective on the problem of prejudice. As it stands, however, it is too general in scope. Therefore, in this chapter the concept of image will be investigated on more concrete grounds. The unit of analysis to which the concept will be applied is images of blacks as held by whites. This chapter will have three parts. First, a discussion of how prejudice has been conceptualized in much previous research and some difficulties inherent in it; second, a different conceptualization of prejudice is put forth using the concept of the multidimensionality of prejudice; and last, a further differentiation of prejudice is attempted by developing five types of image patterns into which the dimensions of prejudice can be placed.

Previous research on prejudice: A case of unidimensionality.

In Chapter I the concept of image as an alternative approach to the study of prejudice was introduced and substantially argued. In introducing and working with this alternative theoretical concept, a more complex and differentiated conceptualization of prejudice was opened up than had previously been used in research on prejudice. We will fully explore this discovery,[1] but first a discussion of other research in the area of prejudice will set the context and help clarify the importance of this discovery.

There has been a strong tendency among students of racial and ethnic prejudice to consider the object of their inquiries as one thing--a single all-of-a-piece phenomenon that varies in amount from one person to another.[2] Thus, Joel Noel in a recent comprehensive review of studies of white anti-black prejudice in the United States writes, "A white person may fall anywhere on a continuum, which ranges from complete acceptance of blacks as equals to the other extreme--complete hate, rejection and social distance."[3] This single dimension is the dependent variable in nearly 100 studies cited by Noel in which the object was to study anti-black prejudice, usually measured by a scale, in relation to one or more of a large number of independent or predictor variables. Studies of anti-Semitism usually have these same characteristics. For example, in the massive, well-publicized research on anti-Semitism funded by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai

B'rith and carried out by the Survey Research Center of the University of California, Berkeley,[4] the focus is on the causes of generalized anti-Semitism as measured by an "Index of Anti-Semitic Belief." But the tendency to conceive of prejudice as a unitary phenomenon had already reached a high water mark in The Authoritarian Personality[5] whose authors, impressed by high correlations between measures and indices of prejudice against various other outgroups, used the term "ethnocentrism" to stand for the general tendency to stereotype and reject outgroups--and to stereotype and uncritically accept ingroups.[6]

There are, to be sure, theoretical and empirical supports for the idea of prejudice as a unitary phenomenon. It is not difficult to think of reasons why people who, on the basis of a stereotyped conception, reject one ethnic minority should reject that group on other grounds as well; and there is no doubt that scales of the sort mentioned above have high internal consistency. The fact remains, however, that social scientists, despite their discovery of numerous social and psychological correlates of prejudice, have not been able to reach much agreement concerning the causes of prejudice. They still argue about the relative importance of various favorite predictor variables and seem unable, or unwilling, to bring these variables together in a comprehensive theory of prejudice. Thus Selznick and Steinberg, in an extraordinary display of energy and resourcefulness, were able to find in their data considerable support for a cognitive, in contradistinction to a psychodynamic, theory of prejudice according to which this phenomenon is believed to result from "ignorance, cognitive incompetence, and lack of intellectual sophistication."[7] We may be sure that advocates of the psychodynamic point of view will not allow Selznick and Steinberg's major conclusion to go unchallenged.

In these circumstances it seems not unreasonable to ask whether studies of prejudice do not suffer from a failure to sufficiently differentiate the dependent variables. Might it not be, for example, that some white people, when left to their own devices--not confronted with a set of ready-made items--will unjustifiably ascribe some but not other negative qualities to black people, while other white people will similarly ascribe other qualities? Might it not be, in other words, that there are qualitatively different conceptions, views, images of blacks which, despite some commonality of outlook in all prejudiced persons, have different implications for action affecting black people and different sources in the background, situation, or personality of the prejudiced person? This, at any rate, is the question to which the present inquiry is directed.

Actually, the literature affords some suggestions that the answer to this question might be positive; and the work which is in this respect most suggestive is, perhaps paradoxically, that which took the strongest position in favor of the generality of prejudice, namely, The Authoritarian Personality. This probably is due mainly to the fact that the

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authors of this work had time to allow their subjects to talk freely about what they thought of various minority groups. As Adorno say in Chapter 16.

> Although the correlation between anti-Semitism and anti-Negroism is undoubtably high, a fact which stands out in our interviews as well as in our questionnaire studies [actually the correlation was .80], this is not to say that prejudice is a single compact mass. Readiness to accept statements hostile to minority groups may well be conceived as a more or less unitary trait, but when, in the interview situation, subjects are allowed to express themselves spontaneously it is not uncommon for one minority more than the others to appear, for the moment at least, as an object of special hatred.[8]

Adorno later goes on to suggest, on the basis of interviews, that lower-class and middle-class gentiles see Jews differently.

> To the true proletarian, the Jew is primarily the bourgeois. The working-man is likely to perceive the Jew, above all, as an agent of the economic sphere of the middle-man, as the executor of capitalist tendencies. The Jew is he who "presents the bill."
>
> To the anti-Semitic members of the middle classes, the imagery of the Jew seems to have a somewhat different structure. . . . They are themselves on the defensive and struggle desperately for the maintenance of their status. Hence, they accentuate just the opposite of what working-men are likely to complain about, namely, that the Jews are not real bourgeois, that they do not really "belong."[9]

If this observation should turn out to be correct for anti-black as well as anti-Semitic orientations--and no one has made it the object of systematic study--the practice of comparing social classes in terms of scores on a scale for measuring prejudice conceived as a "single compact mass" would seem bound to yield something less than the whole truth about anti-Semitism, to say nothing of anti-black prejudice.

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Even more striking than Adorno's observations on the diversity and complexity of anti-Semitic imagery (the above is but a small sample of what is to be found in Chapter 16 of The Authoritarian Personality) is Levinson's analysis of what he calls "ethnocentric ideology."[10] After making his case for the unitary structure of ethnocentrism, he considers three ethnocentric solutions to problems of group conflict: the liquidation, the subordiantion, or the segregation of outgroups. On this basis he distinguishes between "politicalized ethnocentrism" as in Nazism or fascism, which is represented by the first solution, and "American ethnocentrism" of which subordination and segregation are characteristic. Levinson does not say so explicitly but there are strong suggestions in his writing, and in that of his co-authors, that different kinds of imagery of outgroups, as well as different degrees of devotion to democratic values, lie behind the different solutions favored; if Jews are believed to be like germs, and as naturally incorrigible, then liquidation might be the "only solution to the Jewish problem," but if they are seen as greedy children then it might seem best to keep them in a subordinate position until they "learn to be like us."

When one considers the situation of black people in the United States today and asks, with them, what is their best strategy, it would seem to be highly important to know whether and to what extent they are up against people who think they are non-human and should be eliminated, people who think they are children who should be brought up in the way they should go, people who think they are dissident adolescents who need strict control, or people who think they are "the hope of the world."

The Authoritarian Personality has little to say about the possibility of there being different patterns of images of black people. Although, as indicated above, that volume contains much material on the complexity of anti-Semitism--on which the research was originally focused--it appears that when it came to a consideration of other minorities the authors had already been seized by the idea of generalized prejudice and so they proceeded to put their accent on what prejudiced people could be shown to have in common. It is as if they, like various good Freudians before them, were intrigued by the possibility of showing the interconnectedness of a great diversity of surface phenomena, which could then be "explained" by referring them to a few core variables of personality. They succeeded well enough so that social scientists who took it for granted that prejudice was to be explained solely by reference to extra-individual social processes were effectively challenged. What to do about The Authoritarian Personality has been a troublesome problem for more than a few sociologists. Some like Glock and Stark[11] have considered that the best strategy was simply to ignore the whole thing; others, like Selznick and Steinberg[12] have chosen the frontal attack. As stated above, these latter investigators were mainly concerned to counter psychodynamic theories of prejudice with a cognitive theory of their own and in doing so they adopted much the same unitary conception of anti-Semitism as did the authors of The Authoritarian Personality.

What is particularly interesting in the present context is that Selznick and Steinberg, like the earlier investigators, nevertheless turned up evidence that anti-Semitism is by no means all of one piece. They found, for example, that whereas blacks generally are a good deal less likely than whites to have discriminatory attitudes toward Jews, they hold strongly anti-Semitic views in the particular area of economics, a fact which Selznick and Steinberg attribute to the Jew's unique place in black ghetto life. This is in keeping with Adorno's observations above about proletarian anti-Semitism, and, by itself, is enough to suggest that different images of minorities may have different sources as well as different implications for actions affecting those minorities.

There is a black man--the leader of a black anti-Semitism movement--who believes that Jews are used deliberately by the federal government to keep black people down. There can be little doubt that this man has had different experiences than those lower middle-class white people who believe that Jews run the government, which they have taken over by conspiratorial means. If images of minorities differ according to the socio-economic class of the prejudiced person they may also differ according to whether they derive from adult experiences--of economic exploitation or competition, of religious group memberships, of pressure from family and friends, of impaired status, and so on--or from inner conflicts having their origins in childhood. And different childhood conflicts, with their accompanying misperceptions, fantasies, and defensive strategies, may be sources of different conceptions of "the bad people." Thus, Norman Cohn has argued on the basis of historical and clinical studies that traditional European anti-Semitism and contemporary anti-black prejudice in the United States have different psychodynamic sources, the former being a displacement of hostility toward the "bad father" of childhood, the latter being largely a projection onto blacks of reprehensible sexual and aggressive tendencies which the prejudiced person has to suppress.[13] Perhaps the psychodynamicists and the cognitive theorists are both right, in that they have found some determinants of prejudice; perhaps both are wrong, in that their singleness of purpose has prevented them from attending to independent variables which interact with their own favorite ones and are necessary to a general theory of prejudice; and perhaps both could improve their theories of the causation of prejudice by more carefully differentiating their dependent variables.

The following discussion on the multidimensionality of images of blacks demonstrates one means of differentiating the dependent variable.

The multidimensional approach

In differentiating images of blacks it will be shown theoretically that prejudice can not be seen as "all-of-a-piece" (unidimensionally), and that it is important to view prejudice as having multiple dimensions and multiple types of image patterns.

In the 1968 study[14] we were struck by what appeared to be differing images of black people existing in the minds of a sample of white subjects, e.g. blacks are "happy-go-lucky," "are struggling to achieve selfhood," "need to learn some good discipline and they'll be o.k.," "can save our society if anyone can," "are the most dislocated and deprived people on the American landscape." These differing images seemed to be related to the holding of different political positions on a spectrum from conservative to liberal to radical. However, we were impressed not so much by these apparent relationships to political position as by the seemingly simple discovery that people reveal different images of black people when discussing what blacks might do, or what they might desire, or what they are in terms of personal characteristics, or what the causes of the racial problems in society really are. It appeared, therefore, that a single person may image blacks, and accordingly act, differently with respect to different aspects of being black. But, it is necessary to back up for a moment, for in the urgency of wanting to "say it all at once," we have pushed ahead of ourselves.

To set the stage, a clearer meaning must be given to the statement made above about ". . . the seemingly simple discovery that people reveal different images of black people. . . ." This points specifically to the idea of the multidimensionality of prejudice. Each of us, in our everyday life process, perceives a multitude of different persons, events, and objects, many of which are quite distinct in their meaning and significance because they have different sources, serve different functions, and produce different effects upon our lived world. We come to take this for granted as a part of the complexity of life, as well as the richness of life. In addition, it is quite "natural" to assume, particularly with respect to persons, that when we perceive them they are not to be interpreted and acted upon in only a singular way. Rather, the complexity of nature suggests that there exists a rich multidimensionality in any given person (or group), and that if we are to comprehend and understand him at all well, we will take into consideration our perception of his many dimensions. Further, it is quite acceptable to assume that our perception of each of these dimensions will not carry the same interpretation, serve the same function, or have the same intensity in forming our response to the other. Each of these dimensions carries and adds its own meaning to the way in which we "see" the other and respond to him.

As is obvious, this is a "seemingly simple discovery," certainly not new to the body of social psychological theory, BUT indeed, is something different to be considered when the issue of black/white interaction is discussed.

This seems surprising at first glance, but perhaps part of what has happened is that in the interest of attempting to quantitatively refine the existing instruments used in the study of prejudice, we, as social scientists, have allowed ourselves a luxury of dispensing with complexity in the name of developing precision. This study is one attempt to introduce, in a responsible and concrete way, some of that necessary complexity into the study of black/white interactions.

If the idea of multidimensionality is accepted as a general principle in the social perception and interaction, then it can also be accepted in our consideration of images of blacks. By doing so, the theoretical understanding is enriched in the following way. Instead of arguing that someone is highly prejudiced, moderately prejudiced, or hardly prejudiced, on a single, general index of prejudice, it is possible to differentiate a number of dimensions upon which a different "perception" of blacks might move, and therefore give indications of where a given person stands with reference to the other. This suggests, of course, that it is highly conceivable that a subject may have one type of perception of what blacks want and desire, but quite a different view of the intrinsic value of the nature of blacks, or a quite different view of what the place of blacks is in society. This idea of taking seriously in careful research the idea of differentiated dimensionality, plus attempting to put the study of black/white interactions on the level of the concept of imaging, will hopefully lead to a more comprehensive and complete understanding of the meaning of black/white interactions.

The dimensions

It is now in order to discuss briefly and more specifically the dimensions that were selected for study in this research. Undoubtedly there are many dimensions of black/white interactions that could--and should--be studied in order to give a comprehensive understanding of the field. But given the scope and purpose of this research design, and the time involved, only five dimensions could be dealt with. The five dimensions chosen for specific study are: (1) the personal characteristics of blacks--by nature what they are like, how they feel, what their inner make-up is; (2) how blacks act and what they desire--how blacks think about and interpret their situation; (3) personal relationships between blacks and whites--how blacks see whites and what kinds of relationships are possible, and important; (4) the place of blacks in relation to the larger society--where they fit in, what part blacks have in society, what role society has toward blacks; and (5) the source of the racial problem in this country--who and/or what is involved, and what might be done to help the situation.

The first question that will come to mind is, why these five out of the many possibilities? And, the first response is that indeed, there had to be a certain amount of creative intuition and undoubtedly some arbitrariness; but both of these reasons were well tempered with a knowledge of the literature and experience with black/white interactions. Beyond that, however, the following rationales are offered for selecting each of the five dimensions.

(1) The dimension of personal characteristics is perhaps the most pervasive of all possible dimensions, for it is concerned with the "quality of man," and no matter how broad an approach one may take on the racial matter, whether it be on a national, regional, or local level, ultimately the issue includes the question of the quality of the person. How one perceives the other as man (or ironically less than a man) will ultimately and penultimately as well help determine a person's involvement with the other. And again, it is paramount to remember that personal characteristics means more than beliefs about the other's character; it involves the way in which the one holding the images "lives" the other.

(2) In the second dimension--how blacks act and what they desire--let it be clear that it is not only factual information about Negroes that is being sought from the respondent, but rather what he perceives blacks as doing and wanting. The question of "factuality" or truth is another question on another level. The importance of this dimension lies in its centrality in helping determine how one will respond to blacks. Each of us responds to others not only on the basis of immediate understanding of a situation, but also very much in terms of the general background assumptions

brought to bear with reference to that individual. We respond with regard to what that other represents, what he means, i.e. our image of him not only as individual, but as a part of a larger context. For example, two people may confront a black man who is being obnoxiously arrogant, abrasive, and rude. Depending, in part, on what their images of what blacks do and how they act are, one person may respond by ignoring him simply because "that's the way they are." The other may ignore him not because "that's the way they are," but because blacks, as most any other people, have a diversity of characters and personalities. On the other hand, perhaps we have a person who is hyperidentified with blacks, whose image of blacks is that "they can do no wrong." In this case, the response may very well be one of acceptance and defense of the black man because "whatever blacks do is o.k. with me." The point is that how one perceives what blacks want or what they do plays an orienting role in how he interprets and responds to different activities on the part of blacks. As noted above, this is a key dimension in determining strategy on the part of both black and white.[15]

(3) This dimension, studying the relationships between blacks and whites, is intended to go beyond the traditional concept of the social distance so well known in the sociological literature. It does so because it is conceived as being distinct from, but in interaction with the first two dimensions, giving it breadth of meaning. This dimension cannot

really be ignored if we are to develop an understanding of one's image or underlying plot--the way one "lives with" blacks no matter at what spatial distance. The spatial dichotomy in white/black relationships is broken when conceived of in this manner, for as was argued in the first chapter, no matter whether one has the most intimate relations with blacks or one is completely unwilling to sit next to blacks, black people are still very much a part of oneself through one's images and imaging. Consequently, it is not a matter of social distance spatially conceived. But there is another important reason for having this dimension in a study such as this. Negro writers and spokesmen have criticized the segregation of American society, the reluctance of whites to accept blacks into intimate personal relations, and the resistance of whites to the changes which equal rights require.[16] In addition, they have observed and cried out against the condescension and indifference which makes black men into unacknowledged phantoms, dark spectres in white men's nightmares, or invisible men whose feelings and dreams and anguish are little understood by the white community. William Grier and Price Cobbs, reflecting upon their experiences as black psychotherapists, argue that the culture of slavery has not really vanished. Because of white culture, black men and women unconsciously and at times consciously, act out roles that place high priority on playing it cool, on covering up their feelings, on turning their hostility inward, on adapting to a system of values that makes them self-consciously inferior.[17] Resenting the aloofness of whites, black writers view white Americans as protecting a self-interested naivety that renders them unable to approach any nearer the pathos of the ghetto than discussions about open housing in suburbia.[18]

Thus, many observers have argued that fears of personal relationships with blacks lie at the center of white America's discrimination and prejudice against blacks, leaving whites with little, and often incomplete, awareness of who and what blacks are. To wit, Gunnar Myrdal noted a quarter of a century ago that whites expressed their greatest fears and opposition towards interracial marriage.[19] This constitutes only one of many images of personal relationships that might exist, and all of this discussion gives ample rationale for why it is important to include this dimension.

(4) The fourth dimension--the place of blacks in relation to the larger society--has of late received another resounding confirmation as a number one issue in the mind of white America. I speak of course of a number of attempts on the part of some citizens to stop the bussing of school children, such as in Pontiac and Detroit, Michigan.[20] And of course, the issue of the place of blacks in this country is broader than the one issue of bussing and is so conceived in this study. Much of the civil rights legislation passed in the last two decades has been aimed at removing the obstructions in the way of establishing "a place in the center" for blacks. Laws and ordinances have desegregated schools, public

conveniences, employment practices, voting rights, and some housing practices. In so doing these laws have attempted to make possible for blacks what was already possible for other ethnic and national groups, namely, social integration.

But the question still must be raised as to whether "social integration" is what is really wanted or expected by whites. Further, and more centrally, we would have to ask whether by passing laws and enacting ordinances the ways in which white people perceive blacks have actually changed as pervasively as the "law of the land" would suggest they should have. We would argue that these perceptions probably have not. At the same time it could also be hypothesized that a number of changes in perception have come about and at different rates, thereby suggesting that a broad range of possible images of the place of blacks should be extant.

Furthermore, it seems highly reasonable and equally significant to include images of the place of blacks as a distinct dimension because there could well be those who oppose miscegination (in dimension three) but not oppose equal job opportunities (in dimension four). Paul Sheatsley, in an article entitled, "White Attitudes Toward the Negro," found that white opposition to integration was stiffest with regard to open housing and most open with regard to equal job opportunities.[21] The question that remains, then, is what are some of the images that surround these differences? and, how does a position on dimension four relate to images of personal relationships, personal characteristics, etc.?

This would seem to be a significant consideration, for it gives a more comprehensive view or plotting of what an individual's orientation toward blacks will be.

(5) The final dimension to be included in this study concerns the source of the racial problems in this country. This dimension is included for the following reasons. It adds a larger context of concern in the sense that the other four dimensions are either focused pointedly on blacks (dimensions 1, 2, and 4) or on personal relationships between blacks and whites (dimension 3), and the final dimension now takes the focus off that center and focuses on the larger problem of causation. However, by so doing, care has been taken not to jetison the concern with the human aspects of prejudice. In fact, the emphasis has purposely been put in this dimension on who is responsible primarily for the problems we have. Where is major accountability placed, with white or with black?

In The Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, the words "white racism" were coined as an attempt to characterize some central, disturbing aspects of race relations in America.[22] In particular, that report contended that the overwhelming majority of white Americans either do not consider themselves involved in or responsible for the race problems in this country, or at best, consider themselves peripherally involved.[23] One brief quotation became the banner that stood symbolically for what this report concluded:

> What white Americans have never fully understood--but what the Negro can never forget--is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it. (p. 2)

Yet over a year later, the National Urban League published a follow-up study which showed that not only had the federal government failed to give legitimacy to the Commission's report, but that little, if anything, had changed in the country to show that the report had had any great effect on people's views of the root of the racial problems.[24] A key factor in motivating people to involve themselves and take responsibility is embodied in the question of who and/or what is "perceived" to be the source of the problem. In addition, this perception will stand at the gateway to determining what solutions are seen as feasible and workable.

These, then, are the five dimensions and their rationales being used in this study. Each may be conceived of as relatively independent of the others.

Image patterning

The dimensional conceptualization of black/white interactions carries its own intrinsic value and logic. But having given careful thought to these dimensions, a further discovery comes to light, adding breadth and depth to the dimensions. It would be very unlikely that any given population of people when queried concerning their images on any one of these five dimensions would be so monolithic as to give the very same image patterns. One person may have one pattern of images concerning the personal characteristics of blacks, another may have another pattern, and on it may go. The same would be true concerning images in the dimension of black/white relations, or the place of blacks in this society, or the source of the racial problems in this country. Recall that earlier (see p. 54) it was suggested that a single individual may also vary in his image patterns as each dimension is considered. Images of blacks are dynamic and varied because different people participate in, are touched by, and respond to the same socio-cultural environment in different ways. Furthermore, different people have different sub-societies and sub-cultures in which they reside and to which they respond. Therefore, it becomes clear that each of the above dimensions cannot be understood simply in a singular way, but rather that within each dimension differing types of image patterns can be delineated. Each of these image patterns forms a plot by which one orients himself toward blacks. These image patterns can conceivably range over a wide spectrum. This idea was hinted at in the quotation from Gross and Hardy at the end of Chapter I and will be discussed in more depth at this point to illustrate this range of image patterns.[25]

In the opening chapter of Gross and Hardy's book, Gross delineates five different ways in which blacks have been viewed (imaged) historically through literature over the past two hundred years. What Gross suggests in a brief way are typologies that give footholds by which people have taken

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their bearings with reference to blacks. These are their five different image patterns or ways of perceiving blacks.[26]

The first image pattern noted by Gross is what he calls stereotypy or the "mass grouping" type. Blacks as significant individuals do not exist. They are a mass--the Negro--without rights, without feelings, without full humanness. Blacks are viewed as being completely absorbed in the present moment, spotlighting his whimsicality, his irresponsibility, his intense superstition, his freedom from resentment and his irrepressible spirits. This applies to all blacks. This pattern of images of blacks was predominant in nineteenth century American literature, embodied in works like Uncle Tom's Cabin and Little Black Sambo.

A second way of seeing blacks documented by Gross is the pattern of images he calls the "bleached out" type, where there is an " . . . . insistence upon the Negro's similarity to all other men [by which he was in danger of being] stripped of his unique and tragic history, which is to say his particular humanness."[27] A miracle has been performed moving from color as a sign of degradation to no color at all. The black man has been drained of his unique epidermal pigmentation. He now blends nicely into the pleasantly white and "normal" landscape, with the emphasis put on blacks as having middle-class respectability--the skilled black, the public-minded black, the black seen to be in active and successful partnership with whites in some socially commendable activity. From lower-class deficiency to middle-class sufficiency--the leap from the nineteenth century image to the early twentieth century image.

A third way of viewing blacks suggested by Gross' analysis is called the "protest" type. The following quote serves as a summary illustration of this pattern of imaging:

> The proletarian ideology that shaped so much of the thinking of the 1930's could hardly have failed to affect literary criticism concerned with the image of the Negro, since he was clearly the most dislocated and deprived figure on the American economic landscape. The host of social ills he was heir to--crime, poverty, disease--that began to emerge from behind the mask of finger-snapping gaiety made him a natural for the leftist-oriented criticism of the "angry decade," and inaugurated what many critics, at least until very recently, think is the most viable image in literature--"protest."[28]

The images that run through this pattern portray a black people who are far from patient or forgiving, people that are scarred by fear, who hate every minute of their suppression even when seemingly acquiescent and who often enough " . . . hated us, the decent and cultivated white men who from complicity or neglect shared in the responsibility for their plight."[29] As the image patterns moved from stereotypy through transparency, a backlash occurred in the late 1920's, 1930's, and 1940's, creating the image of blacks as indeed living, color-full, angry and demanding human beings.

But as would be expected, a new pattern of images developed as the protest image actually affected the social conditions that existed. Although no one who has even a remote historical sensitivity to the racial issue in America would want to be so naive as to suggest that all barriers had fallen between black and white, the legal advances made by blacks and the "more tolerant spiritual climate" in America set the stage for a new pattern of images. As changes occurred the "common enemy" had become diffused and with this had come a diffusion of the "common purpose" among blacks. A new pattern of images gradually evolved during the late 1940's and 1950's which Gross calls the "assimilationist" type. The focus in this pattern shifted from the oppressive aspect of racial life more to conflicts and tensions within the Negro community itself. "Such a program . . . would [unlike the bleached out image of Negro characters entirely or the image of Negroes as protesting, anti-American and angry] ensure the Negro a place in the American cultural framework 'without destroying his uniqueness or validity.'"[30] Out of the black masses comes the middle-class black. But often the drives they have assimilated are the drives that determine the "normal" middle-class personality and human being. The new emphasis, then, was on the black business and professional man, the patriarchal family, historical figures, etc.

The range of patterns of images portraying blacks was not yet exhausted however. The anemic condition portrayed in the assimilationist image produced another backlash in the 1960's against becoming white men in black skins, and toward injecting some black blood, some black intelligence into the pallid American mainstream. This produced a pattern of images classified by Gross as the "archetypal" type. This imagery carried the message that an ever larger segment of humanity shares the kind of existence which has been the lot of blacks. The thrust of this pattern of images includes such elements as alienation from the larger community, isolation within abstract walls, loss of freedom, and legacy of despair. Blacks, and blackness, become the prototype of contemporary existential lostness. As Richard Wright penned it:

> Negro life is [all] life lifted to the heights of pain and pathos, drama and tragedy. The history of the Negro in America is the history of America written in vivid and bloody terms; it is the history of Western Man writ small. . . . The Negro is America's metaphor.[31]

This cursory presentation from Gross and Hardy's analysis of the images of Negroes in American literature is suggestive of how we might theoretically conceive of differentiating each of the five dimensions in this study into different image patterns. We turn now to consider five differing types of image patterns.[32]

The rational schema put forth here suggesting the differing image patterns has been some time in the making. The schema had its inception during the 1968 study of white racism. In analyzing the data it became clear that the responses we had received in our interviews were not all-of-a-piece and could be ranged into different types of image patterns regarding blacks. Patterns began to develop suggesting that it might be possible to delineate positions along a spectrum showing varying slants or points of view.

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Since that study, however, a series of further interviews has been undertaken for two purposes.[33] One, to gather more data to expand the number of images of Blacks in order to develop a pool of images from which to draw later in this research for the design of a research instrument. Second, I wanted to have a number of interview protocols to analyze specifically with reference to the five hypothesized image patterns presented below.[34] We now proceed to develop these.

Image pattern number one: The Reactionary

The discussion of the image patterns begins with one that is probably most familiar to all. It takes on the proportions of an out-and-out racist. This first image pattern moves primarily on a base that might be called an "essentialist" model, i.e. a pattern of images that sees blacks generally and in essence as inferior to whites. These inferior traits include the following: (1) Blacks have an entirely different ancestry; (2) the Negro race has a place biologically somewhere between the white man and the anthropoid ape; (3) the Negro race is so different both in ancestry and in characteristics that all white people in America, in distinction to blacks, can be considered one race; (4) individuals in the Negro race are very similar to one another and all of them are definitely more akin to one another than to any white man; (5) blacks are by nature inferior intellectually; (6) blacks have a more "primitive"

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morality; (7) blacks are highly emotional and have an emotional instability; (8) blacks are lazy and boistrous and want everything given to them; (9) blacks are hyper-religious; and (10) blacks are by nature musical, rhythmic, and sports oriented. The reactionary generally views blacks as a mass--the Negro--much as Gross suggested from literature. There seems to be little, if any, hesitancy to proclaim this position on the part of those who perceive blacks in this way. So the reactionary will boldly proclaim:[35]

R. We don't want to mix class or race.

I. Why not?

R. I heard a talk about this by an anthropologist who went on to explain how it came about. It was very interesting. In the early days of the development of the human race--it started in the Middle East and Egypt--they learned to build ships along the Nile and they floated them on the Mediterranean Sea and that was the means of communication. And with those means they went out and penetrated into Europe and Spain and European countries and they in turn learned to build ships from the Spainards. They built ships and went all over the world--they went into China and up the Yangtze River and penetrated into these countries where they had navigable rivers and this gave them, the human race, the opportunity to penetrate. And where rivers were navigable human beings could bring so-called civilization into the savage areas. Now Africa--this happened this way--did not have any navigable rivers--they're blocked by waterfalls in many places. So this didn't happen on the continent of Africa because of this basic fact--geographical fact. And the result was that continents like China and India got penetrated earlier and their development came along faster than Africa. And Africa was held back and its only in the last two or three hundred years when the white people in the so-called developed countries penetrated into Africa. This is why. . . . If you assume that somebody has to do this first and it isn't reasonable that everybody would penetrate equally into countries all over the world--somebody

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has to take the lead--the leadership. And this happened this way in history. If you believe that the Creator determines what happens in history, you'll accept that. There are some things that we don't understand and must accept and some things we are expected to understand. You can't reason everything.

I. How does that relate to Negroes today?

R. Well, you take people who have been downtrodden, slaves, they have no family pride. You can't expect them to just step in and take a place. They take no pride in their geneology. They just think different. They have done wonders in the basketball and sports field. Another thing is that Negroes (and I wouldn't say this in general conversation), and people forget, (black people themselves don't realize it) that they still carry some of the old primitive ideas and thoughts from way back before they came here. I don't care, you can argue any way you want, but they don't pick up education in school as quick as the average person. The Negro as a rule is a slow thinker. You have to recognize the truth and if you have been around them much you can see it.

I. If they don't learn as well, how do they get along?

R. Well, they are very emotional. You see this in their religion. I talked to one about their [religious] services. I said, "Your service is built up and up to quite an emotional pitch isn't it?" He said it was. Then I said, "Would you be happy in a quiet, sedate [white] Presbyterian service based on the rational discussion of things?" He responded, "Oh, no!" I told him that that's the way it should be. Everyone who wants it one way should have it. It is good we can have both kinds of churches--the colored church with its emotionalism and the white church with its reasoning approach.

I. Is it more spiritual?

R. I wouldn't say it's spiritual, but it is emotional. For these particular people it is good.

And so it goes. With this image of blacks, contact with them would always be restricted to a dominant/subordinate rank order. This sort of contact is not shunned, and it is from this order of relationship that the reactionary would say he "knows the Negro," making it nearly impossible for him to understand why "suddenly" there is so much of a problem with race.

Based on such a view, someone of this image pattern will feel that blacks should live in separate communities as much as possible and have separate facilities.

I. Some black people complain about the kind of housing conditions they have to live in.

R. Well, they call them ghettoes, but they aren't really; they are self-imposed, because they tend to congregate together. They tend to feel more comfortable with their own kind in their own area. So it's natural that they should.

I. Will we ever have a plural society where all live together in harmony?

R. Well, I just don't see it. The tendency is to . . . as long as we have Communists stirring up differences and dividing, we will never have it. May as well forget it.

I. How about black culture for example?

R. Well, you know I don't think that . . . I used to feel that I would like to walk down in Oakland [city with over 50% black population] in the west part--and that is a highly colored area. A white person down there is as much as his life is worth to go down there on those streets. Try going into taverns. It would be a pretty tricky thing to do. They aren't particularly interested in good will. They're just looking for another pigeon. You are opportunity knocking. They don't make an effort to welcome you to their community, why should they expect white people to welcome them? They are probably the worst offenders when it comes to integrating.

I. What might be done about this?

R. I would say they should get some black business set up. They do have a new grocery business down on San Pablo. Probably hire all blacks. Hope they make a go of it. But they have a bad record when it comes to business. They can't get capital, because they are poor risks. Never get any white trade and black trade wants to take advantage of them and wreck it. You'd think they would have a certain amount of pride and try to help their fellow race. But it doesn't work that way. They figure they can get away with it, because no one will tell on them in their own race.

I. What can help this situation?

R. The idea is that they should go out and develop themselves. Take the example of the attorneys who tried to get a trial in Spanish, because the defendants only spoke Spanish. Why should they? Why just because certain people from another country have not bothered to learn English should they have the advantage and put others to a disadvantage? If they don't conform then they have to take the difficulties that come their way.

The causes, conditions, and consequences of racial problems are the responsibility of those who have the unfortunate reality of being black.

By and large, the viewpoint of the reactionary is to

R. Just forget about color. What difference does it make. To make something of it is the divisive approach and that is playing right into the hands of the Communists.

But in reality what he means is to forget about people who are colored. It is his considered position that blacks

R. Want to be left alone and be treated just like they have been always.

How is that? In this image pattern there are many ways this can be done. The following are only a few:

I. What is your view on bussing to achieve integration in schools?

R. Well, I'm basically against it. I don't think bussing is the answer. Some think it may be a temporary expedient, but I'm afraid it accents color too much. The answer is to have the community in which the school is located reflect the people in it. Bussing has been a hard blow to the scouting program. If they are bussed, the kids can't take part. If we have all white districts then the schools should be all white. If you are going to bus, there will always be some whites who will pick up and move.

I. How do you feel about all the demonstrations that have gone on to try to achieve equality?

R. I have no particular thing against this . . . except . . . when you get a group like this that are trying to impose their will on the government, there is a narrow line between the peaceful way and violence. And usually there are a few who have Communist interests--dedicated anarchists, criminals, or dope addicts--who see an opportunity to take violent steps and do it. And do you think there would be a witness in the whole crowd who would testify against them? Not a one! It is a sad commentary that the decisions of the country and its leaders should be swayed in any way by this sort of thing. No. It is just another effort to divide us in this society.

I. Do you think there are any positive or negative consequences of gaining more equality on the part of Negroes?

R. I don't know whether they want to mix marriages or not. Some whites do. We inter-breed horses to improve the stock. Whether mixing races would do this I don't know. Biology would have to tell, but I have my feeling about it. For example, back in Ptolemy's Egypt, they intermarried brother and sister and became weakminded. I didn't encourage it in my family. It is not to be desired.

Integration would encourage intermarriage and that is a problem.

I. What about interracial dating?

R. Well, I don't like it. I believe we should maintain a certain amount of racial purity. Maybe I'm not modern enough and I'm afraid in the long run there may be little I can do about it.

I. Why do you think that?

R. Well, because people are individualistic and the women, I think, white women tend to show their independence and they encourage black men because they want to demonstrate that they don't accept the mores of the day. But I also wonder about the colored woman. This kind of leaves her out. Apparently the colored woman is the one who holds the jobs and makes the living, while the man is out agitating and out of work.

I. Why is this?

R. The women have apparently accepted the small incomes and the doing with little, and they continue to try to make ends meet. They also pick up a little on the side.

I. What do you mean?

R. Well, we had one in our house. One night she was finishing up late, so we asked her to stay for dinner. She charged us for the extra hour for dinner! That cured us. Also, we often have some things left over and she will take them when we offer them with no qualms. Clothing. Food. That's all right. They are things that are of doubtful value to us anyway and it gives us a way to get rid of them. They think nothing of it. It's just part of their life. They take it without batting an eye.

The overall perspective of this image pattern has now been given shape, both by what has been said directly and by what is implied in the above comments. It becomes clear that anyone in this image pattern feels very little, if any, conscience strickenness about the racial problems and/or black people and their situation. As a matter of fact, when asked how he would respond if he were accused of being a racist, one person of this image pattern replied:

R. Everyone who has a certain color or background, if they don't have a certain pride in it, then there is something missing in their background. I can't see any harm in being called a racist as such. . . .

Image pattern number two: The Cautionary

The second of the image patterns has similarities particularly to the "bleached out" pattern of images suggested by Gross. People of this image pattern no longer consider blacks to be "essentially" inferior. They tend rather to accept the fact that blacks are human beings, though they are considered to be immature and uncultured. The stigma suffered by blacks is seen more as a part of a "process," or a pattern of events that have been instrumental in shaping a subordinate position for blacks than an intrinsic condition of being black. This does not imply, however, that being of this image pattern you are fully aware of the way in which racial subordination has developed, nor that you are eager to see things change much, or at all. The watchword in this image pattern is caution. While this type may be willing to give some legitimacy to the fact that the subordination of blacks is not due to essential factors in blacks themselves, still there is very little sense of an urgency or personal involvement shown toward correcting the problems.

> R. Time will overcome this problem. One thing that will do it is the advent of another generation of Negroes. I don't see that we can do this overnight. I think what will eventually happen is that they will eventually intermingle.
>
> I. Do you mean you would work to bring integration?
>
> R. I'd rather let nature take its course. Equality is important and we probably don't have it, but when you look at it in historical perspective, really, will there ever be a time? Things really aren't so bad when you look at it this way.

I. How do you think Negroes feel about it?

R. Oh, I think that there are many, many Negroes that are happy, because their lot has improved tremendously in the last few years. They are like people in Russia, because as they look back they see that they are better off.

I. Some Negroes say things aren't improving much.

R. I know, but isn't this exactly the same thing that the truckers and air controllers are saying? It's just a general discontent.

I. How do you respond, then, to those Negroes who disagree that enough changes are taking place and try to bring change faster?

R. Pushing people around is no good. Negroes who get pushy are only hurting their own cause, and the same goes for any whites who get pushy. An attempt to oversell and overcommit will only result in a setback. One of the things that has disappointed my wife and me is that the more recent rash of hostility on the part of younger blacks, and the tremendous amount of crime committed by young blacks, is setting back race relations a great deal. There's got to be a growth toward a common culture.

I. How do you feel about such things as black power?

R. Black power--they've got it right now haven't they? This question of black power is interesting to me, because if you break down our population approximately 10% of the whole country is black--give or take, yet this black power--you get the impression from the way they present it that they should be at the top of everything. They've got to have a finger in every pie, but if you've got ten Orientals in 100 people you don't get one in every job. Do I make myself clear on this? Here again, it's integration but they've got to filter in. You have to spread them out. If its done fairly, they're going to be spread thinly as they are integrated.

In addition, there seems to be an emphasis on the idea that

R. . . . if Negroes want what I have, they will have to do what I did to get it--work for it. After all, look at those who have made it. Why can't we emphasize those as the norm rather than always looking at the one who has not made it?

Given a rather guarded cautiousness as runs throughout this image pattern, it would seem logical to expect them to take some care in seeing that things get done the way they want them to. But yet there seems to be some frustration among the cautionary type. They are not particularly active in the issue of race, they aren't versed well in it and they appear to take the position that there is little they can do. In part, this may stem from the question of whether or not they feel a responsibility for the past and/or the present and the future.

I. Where does the responsibility lie for the racial problems?

R. I think that indirectly everyone is responsible for it, but I, personally, don't feel a clear responsibility for it. It goes back before my time and I think it should be very plain that you are not pinning this to me. Maybe I'm touchy on the subject. Every black person, every Oriental person, every white person should take the same responsibility; but as I say, I don't think that I have a clear responsibility. But I'm sorry to say that really I think blacks should solve the black problem and I really don't pay that much attention.

One interesting indication of the cautionary concerns a type of ethical stance taken toward the racial situation. The cautionary will most often hold what we might call an individualist ethical stance, little concerned with ethical issues and action on a larger, social level.

R. The problem will be solved by influencing the individual by the individual, and not on a larger level, such as the governmental level.

Social conscience and awareness are not typical, even though he is not totally unaware that societal factors have been

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instrumental in causing the problems.

The above discussion suggests that people in this image pattern would be open to contact with blacks in a friendly manner. But two points need to be made. The first is that blacks are often viewed as and treated as though they were children or adolescents who need to be shown what to do and be brought into adulthood. More will be said on this below. The second point is that something of a double standard is created for relating to blacks--one standard for social and informal activities and another for business and more formal activities.

> R. I have a daughter in high school who is an active leader in politics there. She asked me if she could bring a couple of colored boys to the house for a meeting. "Sure, why not?" I told her. Now, socially it is a different thing. That is kind of new to socialize too much, but as far as school activities go, I couldn't see why not.

Thus, secondary type contacts with blacks can be accepted, i.e. at the office, in church, and in some organizations, but primary contacts as close friends would not be likely.

As a matter of fact, certain forms of contact are just completely "unacceptable."

> R. Well, I personally would be very upset if my daughter became interested in a black person. She has black friends. So far there is one boy she is particularly friendly with because he is in the church choir but as far as dating or anything like that, she has never done that. I'm sorry, I guess that I'm just from an old enough generation that I would be very much upset if this were to ever come about. I can't yet bring myself to say otherwise. Perhaps in another twenty years it will be quite different.

I. Why is that?

R. In a way its the feeling that this girl has had a white heritage from generation to generation and its too bad to have to change it. I'm not sure if they understand enough of the white man's ways so they could live in a white man's world.

This last point is a very important one in this image pattern and plays a very important role in creating an unsureness and insecurity concerning integration. This is particularly true with reference to integration of living communities, for this is where this "lack of cultural know-how" becomes most evident. The usual reply of someone of this type would be that he would probably not sell to blacks if he were selling his house. Included is an ambivalence between his own position and that of "the neighbors."

R. I do feel an obligation to my neighbors. I wouldn't want to make them uncomfortable and outsiders can cause trouble. I guess this is probably where my prejudice comes in.

I. What would make a difference to you in selling or not?

R. I would want the assurance that the house and landscape would be cared for, and I think Negroes have many sloppy habits. Another point is that I would sell it to a Negro only if he were a man of status, e.g. Willie Mays, or a star quarterback for the Oakland Raiders. They would need to be college educated and wealthy.

It might all be summarized such: "Let me set all the conditions, and conduct a personal inspection, and then I will decide for them whether or not they can buy." It appears that among all the paternalism and unsureness, there is, in this image pattern, a modicum of incongruity between what he has thought, what he thinks maybe he should think, and

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an actual social reality which he must confront. Thus, one way for him to avoid, at least temporarily, this incongruity is to project it onto someone or something else, i.e. the neighbor, the real estate agent, or the victim himself.

Something of the same phenomenon occurs on the subject of integration of the schools. The response obviously takes different forms, but a hesitancy and incongruity appears.

> R. We have to do something.
>
> I. Is integration our main concern now?
>
> R. For myself I think integration is fine. I am not really concerned who sits next to my child in class. The important point is that the quality of education be maintained for not only the lower level, presumably colored child, but also for the child who probably is white and has a high intellect.
>
> I. Then you think integration of schools is a primary concern immediately.
>
> R. Well, no not really. What is important is to educate underprivileged people, so we're all nearer to a common level.

Here is a crucial standing point for the person in this image pattern. We have seen it a number of times. It is a condescension toward the ability and the cultural level of blacks. Characteristically, blacks are not matured. They look and act altogether too much in that way. What is emphasized is improving the Negro, thus at once "blaming the victim."

> R. Negroes do have more unemployed in their people. Well, its partly the lack of education, technical

> skills, and so on. It is partly lack of acceptance by whites, but that is not nearly so important as cultural factors.
>
> I. Cultural factors. What do you mean?
>
> R. I mean that they have to achieve the same education and background, the same understanding for instance of art and literature and music appreciation that we do; in other words, that the good things in life are equally appreciated, you see, by him and me. Now this work ethic problem gets in here too because some of the blacks have not been in environments where they've gotten the same values as we have. But this is shifting around I assume.

The upshot of it all is that blacks need exposure to the white style of life if they are going to make it, but there is not much of value to get from blacks.

Several important thrusts can be located in this image pattern. First, the person in this type views blacks as basically the only ones who need help and the way to help is to impose upon them the white culture and style of life. Such a view includes rationalizations contending that "integration should not occur until Negroes can feel at ease," or that "school districts should not be broken up, because they are a means of identity for the children." Also implicated is a cultural monolithicism, with the prize of superiority going to the whites, thrusting home the fact that if blacks are to "make it" they must "become like us." It follows then, that it is not some aspect of the social system that might be dysfunctional. It is all right and it is a matter of blacks "getting in." This leaves any possibility of a unique black culture outside the gates, only to be accepted when it can be co-opted by the domiant culture.

Finally, with reference to integration of schools, these comments.

> R. My feelings are mixed on this matter and I would make my decision upon how much it cost. Furthermore, bussing is improper. If a person has worked hard enough to live on Grizzly Peak [a posh, white suburb], he shouldn't have to send his kids to poor schools.

Look at the value assumptions. First, the central consideration is finances, not human growth and potential, at least not someone elses. Hard work and class status become pivotal in one's judgments, even when human beings are involved. Second appears the a priori assumption that integrated schools are poor schools, not worthy of the rich.

Generally, then, this image pattern stresses the normalcy of whiteness, with emphasis on bleaching out and assimilating blacks into that normalcy. How, then, would we expect a person of this image pattern to respond to a query about his being a racist?

> R. I don't think it is really true; I don't think of myself as a racist. Maybe I am. I don't know how to respond. I don't think of myself as being racist, but I may have racist feelings I am not aware of.
>
> I. Why do you say that?
>
> R. I was talking with my son and he accused me of being a racist for not knowing Negroes. For example, if I see a teenage black walking along the back fence, I notice it more than with a white teenager. I am more suspicious, because so much petty thievery is done by Negroes and there is something unknown about them. Too, it is harder to distinguish one Negro boy from another. If I saw a white boy once, I would recognize him again, whereas I would not a Negro boy. I had never associated with Negroes at all before coming to

> Berkeley. I grew up with the idea that all races are equal, and all God's children, but it was academic. I really don't think I am racist.

Image pattern number three: The Liberal

Earlier, it was noted that the representative pattern of images for the cautionary stressed the bleaching out of blacks, and in this respect the assimilation of blacks into society. Type three also urges the assimilation of blacks, but of a different nature. A brief discussion of this difference will set the tone for image pattern number three.

In the second type of image pattern the form of assimilation is on the order of what is called Anglo-conformity. Anglo-conformity stresses the complete renunciation of the ancestral culture of blacks in favor of the behavior and values of the Anglo-Saxon core group. In general terms, Anglo-conformity has as a central assumption,

> The desirability of maintaining English institutions (as modified by the American Revolution), the English language, and English-oriented cultural patterns as dominant and standard in American life. . . . [maintaining] a lack of opposition or animus . . . as long as these immigrants and their descendants duly adopt the standard Anglo-Saxon cultural patterns.[36]

Assimilation in the third pattern of images more closely approximates another form which has been called the "melting-pot" form of assimilation. The dominant orientation in this form stresses the evolution of a "new man" in society:

> Was it not possible, then, to think of the evolving American society not simply as a slightly modified England but rather as a totally new blend, culturally and biologically . . . melted together by the fires of American influence and interaction into a distinctly new type.[37]

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The vision that guides the proponent of this form of assimilation is the vision of a universal man, a man that transcends the particular characteristics of any one group, any one nationality, any one race and creates a synthetic new whole. Individuals and individuality give way to universal traits.[38]

Another commentator, Jean Paul Sartre, in his pungent essay on Anti-Semitism and the Jew, nails this pattern of imaging solidly in its place for us and brings it more clearly in line as a part of our third image pattern. He is of course concerned with Jews and the prejudice promulgated toward them, but his comments, if related to Negroes, carry the meaning well into our concern. Pointedly he writes:

> The Jews have one friend, however, the democrat. But he is a feeble protector. No doubt he proclaims that all men have equal rights; no doubt he has founded the League for the Rights of Man; but his own declarations show the weakness of his position. In the eighteenth century, once and for all, he made his choice; the analytic spirit. . . . He recognizes neither Jew, nor Arab, nor Negro, nor bourgeois, nor worker, but only man--man always the same in all time and in all places.[39]

Thus, the difference in the assimilationist views between the cautionary and the liberal.

As we move on into image pattern number three we find that in addition to a more universalistic view of the problem, a greater clarity of thought and understanding concerning blacks and the racial problems of the society appears. This type of image pattern puts a greater emphasis on how blacks have been "colonized" and discriminated against by the dominant culture.

R. Blacks tend to live in the poorer sections of town. It all goes along with the total situation. It is because they have been kept in a situation where they haven't gotten the education and the opportunity to get more money. They are kept in sections of the city by our real estate agents who are aided and abetted by the white sections of the community to keep them there.

It is usually the case, however, that while recognizing this aspect of the issue, emphasis will not focus on the negative conditions but rather on the positive and what must happen.

I. Should there be something done about this?

R. They've had real discrimination in the schools too. There's really got to be a training program because maybe a lot of the unemployment is a lack of skill--because unskilled jobs are getting less and less. Need training programs.

These last comments illustrate a very important principle for the liberal. While more recognition is given to the discrimination toward blacks and toward doing something about it than was given by the cautionary, still it is paramount for a person in this image pattern to stress that he has unlimited faith in the ability of society as it now basically exists to make equality work. He is not interested in examining the social structures generally to see if they need revolutionizing. Replacement is not needed, but rather the important task is to get the present arrangements, with a minimum of reform, to function in such a way that they will no longer subordinate blacks, but will get them in somehow.

R. Let me give you an illustration of what I mean. The other night, on channel nine, I was watching a jury trial. A black was acquitted by an all white jury, and it was not all that clear-cut a case. But then the black, when interviewed, said

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> he should have killed those two policemen anyway. This shook me up, because I thought justice had prevailed, and yet he still was not satisfied. He said he couldn't get justice in this society. I became impatient with him, for not being grateful to white society. I felt some good had come out of it. This affects me personally because I do believe in the system. . . . I feel that things can be improved in this society and I get very impatient with people who say throw the whole thing out and start over. If all who are complaining would take positive action, things would change.

An extremely important principle undergirding the image pattern of the liberal is integration. Integration is absolutely essential.

> R. Black power is a threat to society and it threatens my viewpoint. I think there is some good in this society and it doesn't need to be destroyed. I don't like this move toward reverse segregation where all that blacks do has to be black. I would agree that whites have tended to take over in the past, but we can't have reverse segregation. It must be kept from going past the point of integration. Integration is the only way and I hope that the blacks will finally come to integration. It is up to the black people to keep it from going beyond integration.
>
> I. Why is integration so important?
>
> R. Because I see one problem I don't like--just a reversal of roles. They would be top-dog and we the under-dog. That is going to hurt my power. That is why I believe that integration and equality are important and what we should work for. There would be no white power black power, nor anyone else's particular power.

Not all in this type would necessarily be quite so threatened by black power, though still emphasizing integration.

> R. I think black power is good. They're not going to get far without it. But it is good to a point--I don't want to be sacrificed. If I go out and join a cause because I believe in it, the

> thing that scares me is that the cause is so great that they will sacrifice a few people. If I went out to march in their cause, I certainly wouldn't want them to sacrifice me.

Two factors loom in this comment. First, the liberal, while much more in tune with blacks, still is having some trouble thinking of the racial issue in other terms than it being "their" problem. This certainly is not as strong as with the cautionary, but it is still there. Second, while emphatic involvement with blacks is stronger than in the previous image pattern, the sense still comes through that "I will get involved at my leisure, on my terms, and if things get rough, I have the prerogative of removing myself whenever I will." The empathy does produce a sympathetic response, but it is basically on a more once removed level.

> R. The fact that the racial problem is a long-standing, historical thing removes it from a personal guilt level. I do feel some responsibility to help solve the problem, but my lack of feeling personally guilty I guess is mainly because the problem is not directly related to my survival.

The liberal does have a social conscience and concern, but since he tends to have a basic faith in the system, he puts a great deal of emphasis on and trust in the actions of the "proper institutions and channels" as being the way justice and equality will be achieved. He supports them, and works through them, and urges others to do the same. He has a faith in just laws and the need for making them.

But precisely because of this "once removed," rational commitment, the liberal finds it possible, and sometimes convenient, to be able to move on to other issues if the racial one gets tough or boring. In addition, he can easily react to the black cry of "That is not enough. It is too little, too slowly," with a kind of "What do you expect?" chagrin. The comment earlier vis-a-vis the black acquittal expressed some of this.

This all fits with precision another basic principle of this image pattern, namely, that "People are people," and "We're all one big happy family."

> R. I do not see color. I see people and I am not able to tell you whether they are black, green, pink, or purple. I don't think you should be color conscious. People are people regardless of what color they are. It shouldn't make any difference. Color shouldn't be any more important than the color of your eyes or your hair.

This means, then, that,

> R. Obviously, I just want everyone to get together.

This has implications for strategy and approach to the racial issue. This image pattern tends toward the very down to earth, pragmatic approach when it comes to strategy.

> R. Acceptance is the key, and understanding will come easily as Negroes move upward and have more white contacts. Acceptance and getting Negroes into existing institutions needs to be emphasized as the place to start.
>
> I. What does "acceptance" mean for you?
>
> R. Well, I don't really know, because I don't think they should have to completely adopt our way of doing things.
>
> I. Why not?
>
> R. They have their own culture and their own way of expressing themselves, but I think a lot of employers would not really respond to it unless their business has something to get the buying power of the black people.

I. So what can be done then?

R. Education is one of the most important factors to consider in the minority problem. It is the first step.

I. What do you mean?

R. Well, reading. Reading is a gift given to me. I did not ask for it, but I see so many who cannot read and this harms their chances.

I. Yes.

R. I think it's a lack of education in knowing how to appear when they show up for a job and this type of thing. The whole way they talk is different.

I. What might be done?

R. It could be like a dual education program. They could be educated to what our feelings are or to what the feelings of the white establishment would be. If they were educated to know that we sorta feel that you have to be neat, this kind of thing. . . . And then if we could be educated to realize that Afro hairdos and this type of thing are all right.

These comments suggest that education on different levels is an extremely important factor in this image pattern. Education gives a better opportunity for a more decent living and of course is expected to lead to a greater understanding and tolerance of others.

The approach for insuring better education for blacks is to put emphasis on the necessity to "seek out" those who show promise and ability. Take the existing institutions and beef them up by starting special programs and bending the rules a little here and there. This gives rise, for example, to programs like the "four-percent plan," allowing a certain number of blacks into the university, though they

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may not meet all the requirements.

R. This is a start. Take the ones with some ability and qualify them. That will be an incentive for others to work--an example to follow--and it will give hope. That's what they need. We have to show them they can make it.

I. That's interesting.

R. This has been done for years for whites, but a problem arises in locating Negroes. Where the doors have been opened, the exceptional Negro has done well, e.g. in sports and entertainment. This needs to happen in all fields.

It is likely that a person in this image pattern would feel positive about interracial sexual relations, but perhaps with some dissonance and a degree of hesitancy. With his emphasis on the importance and need for integration and the coming-together-of-people-into-one, he will tend to desire, and in some cases have, close relationships with blacks.

R. In situations like that, the race or color doesn't have anything to do with it.

I. What about interracial marriages?

R. Well, I suppose there would be some hesitation due to a concern for the children of an interracial marriage, but I hope that I could accept it.

I. Why?

R. I think most people who enter into a mixed marriage see people as people--not as a color or a race. They're just people. And those are the kinds of people who have always had different friends of different races and backgrounds.

Given the reality that the liberal is likely to have the ability to analyze fairly rationally and clearly, he is likely to have a greater degree of openness toward the issues than either the reactionary or the cautionary, and therefore an openness and willingness for personal relationships with blacks. What can be expected with reference to his feelings of responsibility in this matter?

> R. I don't think we are responsible for the race problem. The race problem is the result of the past history of the country. We are clearly responsible for the efforts being made to correct the problem. That is where our responsibility lies--in understanding where the race problem lies and understanding and making ourselves knowledgeable about the basic differences in the races. Understanding why and then responding according to the understanding that we develop.

Thus, the liberal accepts the fact that discrimination does exist and needs attention, but the way to overcome this is through an "enlightenment" process. A basic presupposition is that with some careful appraising and supervising by those who are enlightened and understanding, a reshuffling of the present social system can be done making it possible to take in one more group. This takes its form most acceptably in the form of integration, melting-pot style, which assumes and implies that blacks will need to accept a certain pace and a certain place which is being made for them in the present arrangement. That it won't be an easy task, as someone in this image pattern would see it, becomes clear.

> R. It is a good idea to get a black in just to give them a chance, but I couldn't find one qualified to do the job. So one has to decide whether one downgrades one's whole business establishment in order to accommodate that fact, or whether you just get a white and keep on the level of output that you have had.
>
> I. How do you feel about that?
>
> R. I think that we are going to have to downgrade our whole culture and business establishment in

> order to get black people going. And that is a sacrifice that in our competitive society is very difficult to make.

Image pattern number four: The Radical

> R. White America has racism in its bowels.
>
> I. What can be done about this?
>
> R. We have to talk about our own identity. I am particularly concerned with the white community. The white community . . . has to come up against its own racism, its own identity.

This comment sets the stage for the pattern of images to be found in the radical. More than any of the other types, this one attempts to place the racial issue in a broader context. The radical has the urge to seek the root metaphor that underlies the complexity of the race thing, trying to avoid being only symptomatic in his analysis and protracted action. And so it is that the radical finds himself balancing precariously between a comprehensive, systemic, complex analysis of what the problems and solutions are on the one hand, and the often piece-meal, hit-and-miss actions he attempts to undertake on the other. He is usually very much a part of the active, action-oriented group, but will be found to be more concerned with the broader implications of racial problems than is the case with the other three image patterns already discussed. His penchant is to seek constantly after the reasons why. As a result, his desire and ability to "live" the part of the other is intensified and expanded over the other three types.

R. I've lived in two mixed neighborhoods, and by mixed neighborhood I mean we were surrounded by all kinds of people: Jewish, Russian, Greek, Puerto Rican, Black. And the children were just a great big rainbow farm. . . . It was an exhilerating experience.

I. Why?

R. A man comes up to me and says, "You know, everyone I know thinks the following." Well, who does he know! Everybody on his block--all of whom have the same income he does, the same kind of house. I think this is one of the terrible fallacies of our way of life. It's not quite as interesting as living around people who have different perspectives. You go a little dead!

I. Carry that just a little further.

R. Because we are part of our own culture, our own race, I think we should make an effort to understand what is valid to people of other races and accept the fact that what is valid to them may not necessarily be valid to us. Theirs is acceptable, must be acceptable, and responded to in that context.

The person in this image pattern chooses to emphasize the need for recognizing unique advantages and disadvantages of black culture and its importance for America.

R. Emphasizing conformity isn't important. Understanding is important. It is important for white people to understand the disadvantages of being black and for both black and white to understand the culture of black people. And furthermore, I don't buy this idea of just "showing respect." Boy, is that crummy.

I. Why is that so important?

R. The emphasis on black culture offers a lot to the larger society. It is a great thing and must be combined with a commonness of humanity. We have to work together eventually but not from a white point of view.

Obviously with this orientation, one would likely have somewhat different views than the reactionary, the cautionary, and the liberal on integration.

I. Is integration our primary concern now?

R. I don't think so. The black community says "The hell with integration," for a number of reasons. One is because it has always been integration in the white man's terms and [they say that] what we want is integration on our terms. I think they may have a better concept of integrated education in terms of human relationships than I ever hear coming out of the white community because the white man is so hung up on white racism. The blacks see integation as cutting away their political power in other areas. Furthermore, if we integrate the community, which only means dispersal of blacks, being salt and peppered into a white society is going to maintain white control and racism. They will be isolated from our brothers and isolation is hard to bear.

I. Is integration out completely then?

R. No. It is of high value to me, but I also understand the political realities and know that there are some interim steps we need to take.

Stressing these interim steps is one aspect of this image pattern that sets it off from the others. It throws the fulcrum of the radical's position into a different position, thus giving quite a different view of the world.

I. What is the nature of these interim steps?

R. One might be stressing the development of black power--political, economic, and cultural. The idea is to draw away and group to gain strength on the part of black people. Then they can come to the negotiating tables as equals and say we will do this if you will do that. It is the frustration of powerlessness that creates animosities and alienation. Frustration keeps you stifled. We kept telling them that we were going to produce--that America is the land of freedom--but we give words and hope and little action.

I. Why is that?

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> R. Well, intellectually many know the problems, but don't want to get involved directly and emotionally. We are too busy with our own survival. The system has kept the doors shut. To talk about anything else is static. Why should Negroes accept the society as it is? We should create another in which all are equal.

Taking this position presents a different set of fears for the radical than for the other three. Others have feared black power, or black people, or that the present social institutions might be undermined. The fear in this image pattern lies more with what whites will try to do. The concern is that there will be, and is, an effort on the part of the white community to prevent blacks from making an effort to control their destiny. It is felt that too many whites take the position, "If Negroes want to arrive, why don't they do something about it?"

At the same time, the radical will be nervous about the emphasis and importance he places on black power, which at once accentuates the separateness and unequal status of blacks and whites.

> R. We may have to have a segregated society overtly, but there are some real dangers in it. Like in the Bay Area we are moving toward the black core cities which are going to be controlled by white suburban communities and a regional government. The way our political system has worked out, sheer numbers of whites are still going to control the institutions without changing the racism. Also the freeway system in Oakland may well have been built, on an unconscious or conscious basis, to hold that core city in place. I am worried in not working for integration directly that you are going to have core cities cordoned off by freeways and other kinds of barriers to contain and control the black community.

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But "action" is carried on by the radical quite regularly, for he feels that he must constantly keep involved. The race problem is seen as primarily a problem of white people and their actions, many of which are not particularly rational, but emotional and traditional.

> R. Training programs can try to deal with that. Sensitivity groups. That would be one level. White people have to work out their own identity other than being non-black. What does whiteness mean other than not being black? But the institutionalized part of it is more important, on the political front. Small inroads have to be made into integrated housing and education.

Interestingly, education is important in this image pattern also, with a dual perspective--black and white. But the emphasis is different.

> R. I think it's education of us. By us I mean white. I mean the white community very much.

Protruding through at various points in this description is the rather personal nature of the radical's concern. Both in analysis and solution, for this image pattern it is a matter of concern. He is white and the problem is white. Expressions of worry are heard often and a search for creative outlets is constant. There is a certain urgency warning him not to settle down into what now exists or to avoid the issue.

> R. In the '60's everyone was feeling guilty about Watts. Now we have dissolved the great concern and moved on to a cover like polution. Politicians failed on one problem, so they turn to one where everybody can agree.

Little mystery remains, then, about how this type views the issue of responsibility. A disdain is held for the position that "I can't take responsibility for my father. I'm not responsible for the fact that they made them slaves." The point of view is rather that none of us escapes our history. The conditions that exist are caused by history, but the conditions are still our conditions. We live in a society, we don't live by ourselves.

> R. The racial problem is a problem where the sins of the fathers are inherited very much by the children, and in that sense we are responsible.
>
> I. What kinds of sins?
>
> R. We're clearly responsible because we're all prejudiced. I'm prejudiced and I've got to work against the prejudices I have.
>
> I. How do you know you are prejudiced?
>
> R. I think twice when its a black person involved--I just automatically think twice. My parents were from Richmond, Virginia and they were prejudiced. We used to drive through the South and my mother would point out the horrible places they lived in. She would feel sorry for them--a kind of pity, not empathy.
>
> I. Do you feel guilt about this?
>
> R. Yeah, I do. I would like it to be that everyone could intermarry, that there was just no barrier and, I feel guilty that I have prejudice and that I notice these things.

The epitomy of this position is shown in this response.

> R. My mother says you can't blame the white man, but she is part of the system that perpetuates racism. She can't get off that easily. If you don't get out and work to correct the problems, it is your fault.

All in all, the person in this type is likely to have close personal relationships with blacks, through some type of involvement with them as friends, as co-workers on action projects, and the like. Intermarriage is usually not a problem, though some careful concern is raised about it because of the emphasis placed on changing identities--black and white. He realizes that he needs to listen and accept directions from blacks and not withdraw because the issues are too sensitive.

Image pattern number five: The Hyperidentified

As we move into the last of five image patterns, the pattern of images takes a radical leap and leaves behind--albeit rejects--any of the feelings and aspirations of the other four. Ester Merle Jackson, in her essay, "The American Negro and the Image of the Absurd," expresses something of the view of the person in image pattern five by suggesting that the discovery

> . . . that an ever larger segment of humanity seems to share the kind of existence which has been the lot of the Negro--alienation from the larger community, isolation within abstract walls, loss of freedom, a legacy of despair--has led to a . . . view of the Negro as a "prototype" of the contemporary sense of existential dislocation.[40]

The hyperidentified has given up any truck with anyone who has any idea of blacks assimilating, integrating, or possibly even having any identification with the stream of western culture that flows through America. The mask of apparent conformity with American white society has dropped away almost completely, or at least a valiant attempt is made to repress identity relationships with a past that has had whiteness as a part. What is being attempted is a rejection of a white identity and a taking on of a black identity--a struggle to envelop oneself with the black psyche. What identity with the past does remain overt is largely a negative identity, and what is developing is a "whatever is black is right and good" mentality.

> R. I always identify with blacks when you have blacks and whites together. I thought that when I talked of "honkies" I was kidding myself, maybe not. I thought black kids needed my "help" but that was false, false, false. Blacks don't seem so fake.

There is, then, a kind of hyperidentification with blacks and with blackness--their life style, their community, etc. Interestingly, what exists is something like a complete reversal of the pattern of images for the reactionary. Where blacks were seen by the reactionary as inferior, here they are definitely superior to anyone white. There is a nearly uncritical acceptance of blacks in such a way that again we have a sort of "mass grouping" of blacks--the Negro--but with a totally positive evaluation rather than a negative one. Where blacks were not suited for most jobs and other involvements in white society for the reactionary because they couldn't learn as well and didn't have the right skills, here they are not suited for involvement in white society because they should not lower themselves to participate in white society and culture. Through their degradation, blacks have transcended the ills of the society. Blacks and their life of suffering and alienation are seen as symbolic of everyman and all life. The hyperidentified argues that the facade of the American way of life is always transparent, and through his image of the Negro as being a man without a country, he too participates in this separation and becomes a man without a country. From his viewpoint of rejecting his past, rejecting America and its whiteness, he rejects the apers of white middle-class life and all its emotional barrenness.

Obviously, if anyone can "salvage the day," and with it the society, it is blacks. Black martyrs at once are seen as the greatest heros in American history. Indeed, is it not true, he argues, that the history of America is the history of the Negro in this country? Undoubtedly, then, blacks are able to teach whites more than anyone who is white, including one's parents. In so doing, they give to whites a sense of fulfillment that cannot be found in any other place by anyone else.

Anyone in this type, hyperidentified with black as he is, would certainly consider himself something of an authority on blacks and blackness, and would contend, no doubt, that blacks really hate whites (himself *ex*cluded of course because symbolically he is no longer white). However, he would also go on to argue that this hatred does not take concrete form, because blacks have overcome it, transcended it, and simply ignore whites. Nevertheless, the hyperidentified would probably feel a sense of guilt, at least up to the point where he was able to completely wipe out his past. It would be a double-edged guilt--personal guilt for having

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been a part of a people who did so much dirt to blacks, and a guilt for having been an identifying part of white society at one time or another.

Disappointingly, this image pattern is not further developed. Even though I believe people of this type do exist, I did not find anyone in my interview sample who was located in this image pattern, therefore, I do not have concrete material to add to it. Nevertheless, this image pattern would seem to have merit of its own and further work should be carried on with it.

Conclusion

The conceptual schema by which we approach the subject of black/white interactions in this study is completed. It has been shown how the issue of prejudice is multidimensional in character. Further, we have developed five different image patterns on which these dimensions can be ranged, each with its own distinct "flavor," and each embodying patterns of images that give it meaning. The total schema is diagrammed in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1

		Reactionary (I)	Cautionary (II)	Liberal (III)	Radical (IV)	Hyperidentified (V)
Personal characteristics	(1)	A	F	K	P	U
Actions and desires	(2)	B	G	L	Q	V
Personal relationships	(3)	C	H	M	R	W
Place in society	(4)	D	I	N	S	X
Source of the problem	(5)	E	J	O	T	Y

The complexity of the variable images of blacks can be seen in this diagram.

The next major step is to have a go at testing the validity of this schema in a living population of human beings. However, before doing that, consideration must be given to how each dimension and image pattern is to be measured. This requires a brief methodological interlude.

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CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGICAL INTERLUDE

If it is accepted that majority/minority relations are to be understood as multidimensional and multipatterned as opposed to the previously conceived unidimensionality, then a new methodology for measuring how whites view (image) blacks is called for. Such a methodological instrument must reflect the best theoretical thinking on images as well as make possible a means of measurement that will locate an individual's imagery on the various dimensions and image patterns.

Development of a research instrument became one of the primary concerns from the very outset of this study. It soon became apparent that previous research on majority/minority relations was not a satisfactory base on which to develop a new instrument, due to the differences in our theoretical bases. But what would be the basis for developing such an instrument? If the primary concept by which prejudice is to be understood is image, then obviously the instrument would have to involve indicators pointing to specific image patterns; therefore, our first task had to be the search for such indicators.

For these indicators the sociological literature on

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prejudice could not simply be relied upon, because much of that literature did not contain the rich, descriptive material necessary for suggesting image indicators. But two other sources presented themselves. The first involved undertaking a program of gathering images and indicators through talking with people, the actual holders of images. The second source potentially rich in imagery was descriptive literature written about blacks and whites and their relationships.

The interview process

The first method turned to for the gathering of raw image data was the interview method. Its rationale was as follows. Through interviews, it would be possible to coordinate a large pool of image indicators related to the theoretical conceptualization in Chapter II of this work. In addition, in the early thinking about what would be accomplished through the interviews it was thought that in conceiving of the problem of black/white relations it would be important to pull together information from a number of individuals on two levels--a general level, and a specific level. The general level would be related to the individual's general imaging of the world around him and the inhabitants of that world, and the specific level would be related to the specific images maintained of specific social, ethnic, and racial groups and individuals. Taking this two-leveled approach would allow us to appraise the grosser features of one's world view first, into which could then be fitted the more specific features. In the long run, this would help avoid the problem of simply obtaining a plethora of precise, specific images with the hope that these might eventually add up to something significant. This latter approach would be like trying to view the whole through the sum of the parts, when in reality the whole is more than the sum of the parts, and just as importantly, is an important context from which the parts receive their meaning. In addition, it might well be that a person would make statements and hold images on the general level that would appear highly illogical, but which were intended as statements that would serve as rationalizations for irrational tendencies on the specific level.

In developing some categories on the general level that would incorporate meaning for images on the specific level, these three held special cogency.

A. Images of the nature of man: Here we were interested in the way a person conceives of mankind and human relationships. Is his view one of cynicism and misanthropy ("People are no damn good."); one that has the qualities of faith and trust ("Most people, after all, are pretty decent."); or, does it fall somewhere inbetween? We would also inquire about a person's "hero figures" and "devil figures." ("If you had one week to be like someone else, who would that be?" or, "Who would you least want to be?")

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B. Images of the nature of the political process: Here we were interested in the way a person conceives of the working of society and his ability to influence it. Is it one of anomic fear and suspicion ("Society is so big today that you can't influence anyone."); one of belief that "right" will triumph and optimism prevail ("Things sometimes look pretty bad, but if we just keep working away at it, things will turn out all right."); or, is it somewhere inbetween?

C. Images of the nature of social and cultural reality: Here we were interested in how one views the present and the future, and what his goals are for himself and for the nation. Is it one narrowly conceived ("This nation had better lookout for number one, just as I have to, or we will be taken over and compromised."); one broadly conceived ("What we need now, more than anything else, is to find a way to join nation with nation, man with man, and have a world at peace."); or, is it somewhere inbetween?

Given these three categories on the general level, specific level categories were then constructed to stand in relationship to them. For example:

A_1. Images of specific groups or individuals: Here we were concerned with how a person views specific social, ethnic, and racial groups and/or individuals. Is his view one of identification or empathy (and for which ones); or distantiation and threat (and toward which ones); or somewhere inbetween and why? We also wanted to obtain some descriptive material for his position. ("Are there any groups or organizations of people whom you think might interfere with your having a decent life?" As things stand, would you say that some people get all the breaks and others get none?" "Why is that so?")

B_1. Images of political strategy and tactics: Here we were concerned with how one views the pace and tactics of the social, ethnic and racial groups and/or individuals. This would include concern with violence, police practices, militancy/non-militancy, boycotts and bussing. We had found in our previous study in 1968 that this was a particularly good predictor of one's position toward blacks.

C_1. Images of specific social and cultural realities: Here we were concerned with how a person views other groups in relation to American culture. Specifically we were concerned with the problem of conformity/non-conformity to American culture and social life--cultural pluralism vs. melting pot; tolerance vs. acceptance. Is his view one of maintaining the status quo, moving backwards (toward segregation), or more radical change? ("Do you agree that 'white racism' is the cause of our current black/white difficulties?" "Should our concern now be with integration? Why or why not?" "Are the complaints of students legitimate

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complaints?" "Should the American Indians have Alcatraz Island for a cultural center, why or why not?")

What was needed, then, to implement this design was an interview schedule using open ended questions with probes to elicit data pertinent to the general and specific levels. The interview schedule developed and used is shown in full in Appendix A. The interview schedule proceeds from the general to the specific level, and back again to the general level. It was believed that beginning on the general level would allow the interviewer to develop a rapport with his interviewee before getting to the specific and possibly more troublesome level. In addition, proceeding in this manner allowed for a more orderly process of data gathering. The phenomena with which we were dealing was so complex that unless we were careful to design the interview schedule with a careful order in mind, the interview might have become confusing for both the interviewer and the interviewee. Furthermore, some of the specific level issues were sensitive enough that to begin with them directly might well have threatened the interviewee and stifled his responses. Simple and brief responses would have given us little by way of the broad range of images being sought. Thus, it was expected that by the time the more sensitive issues were reached, the informant would have warmed to the occasion and would not have found it necessary to switch in an many of his avoidance mechanisms.

With the interview schedule developed, interviewing proceeded. A total of forty interviews were conducted. The selectinn of people for interviews was carried out in two ways. The selection for a first phase of interviewing was done by a "snowballing" technique in which three people of quite different orientations known personally to me were asked to participate. Then each of them was asked to suggest four other people who they thought would be willing to participate. Of the four suggested, one was chosen, contacted, and asked to participate. If he would do so, we proceeded with the interview. If not, another on the list was contacted until one person from the list of four accepted. This was continued until fifteen people were interviewed.[1]

The second phase of interviewing involved a different selection procedure. Keep in mind that one of our concerns in both phases of interviews was to interview people of quite different orientations, eventually resulting in a broad range of images. In the second phase of interviewing, the first problem was to find some social institution into which access could be gained for selecting interviewees. It happened that I, as the research director, had easiest access to a number of churches in the geographical area in which the research was being conducted. Through a friend at the higher levels of church government in the Bay Area, I gained access to the records of all United Presbyterian Churches in that area and began to search for one that would supply a broad range of people with various outlooks on life. The following criteria were used in selecting the institution for the sample: (1) It should be located in an urban setting, assuring exposure to many aspects of communal life with special concern for black/white relations; (2) it should be a church with a relatively large membership (300 or more), maximizing the potential of a broad cross-section of types of people; (3) it should be a church that had a history of being diverse in socio-economic make-up, in ideological outlooks, in urban/social involvements, and in theological position; and (4) it should be a church in which an openness for various points of view politically and socially was the rule and not the exception. If these four criteria were adhered to, a broad range of viewpoints would most likely be procurred. After careful study, one institution was chosen.

A sample of twenty-five people was then chosen in the following manner. After gaining access to the institution through the proper channels, a conference was arranged with the minister of the church, the study was explained, including the questions to be asked, and he was informed of the criteria used for selecting the church. The minister was then asked to carefully review the church's membership list and choose twenty-five people who he thought would give a broad range of responses on the questions being asked. This is a subjective means of choosing a sample, granted, but it was considered quite acceptable in light of the fact that we were not at that point trying to do an inferential study,

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or trying to replicate a study, or validate a hypothesis. What was desired was raw data, in large amounts, and of a wide variety. Furthermore, it was agreed that since twenty-five interviews was our limit, considering time and man-power, we would have a greater potential of getting broad ranges of responses by using this method as opposed to some random selection process in which twenty-five people from several hundred would be selected. With the sample chose, the interviews were conducted and transcribed, and we were in a position to begin content analysis of the interviews for the purpose of developing a pool of images.

After considering the large amount of data resulting from the interviews, however, it became apparent that the scope of the research design was much too broad for this one study. Recall that we had planned, in this study, to work with images at two levels--the general and the specific--in order to place the specific image patterns--e.g. images of blacks, homosexuals, poverty, etc.--within the context of more general image patterns--e.g. images of man, images of the future, images of society, etc. But research naivate had caused an overestimation of energy, time, and abilities, and at this point it was obvious that to be realistic the scope of research for this dissertation had to be restricted. With much deliberation the decision was made that for the present study, analysis would have to be limited only to one aspect of many possibilities. Therefore, the narrowed scope of the research would focus only (1) on the specific level of orientation in the social world and (2) within that level specifically on the study of images of blacks held by whites.[2]

Survey of descriptive literature

Using the narrowed research design, the work continued. At this point a pool of images was generated through content analysis of only those parts of the interview pertaining to whites' views of blacks. Then in order to enrich this pool of images, and to be more certain of having a well-rounded selection of images of blacks, it was decided to undertake a survey of some literature written specifically on the subject of black/white relations by both black and white authors. The most important and helpful of those consulted for this purpose were the following:

A. Autobiographical: Lillian Smith, Killers of the Dream; Larry King, Confessions of a White Racist; Eldridge Cleaver, Soul on Ice; The Autobiography of Malcolm X;

B. Sociological, Psychological and Historical: Joel Kovel, White Racism: A Psychohistory; Winthrop Jordan, White Over Black; William Brink and Louis Harris, Black and White; Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma; Lerone Bennett, Before the Mayflower; Calvin C. Hernton, Sex and Racism in America; George M. Fredrickson, The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914;

C. Novels and other literary work: Richard Wright, Blackboy; Ralph Ellison, Invisible Man; Claude Brown, Manchild in a Promised Land; William Styron, Confessions of Nat Turner; H. Rap Brown, Die, Nigger, Die; Seymour Gross and John Edward Hardy, Images of Negroes in American Literature.[3]

After having gleaned images of blacks and specific indicators from the interviews and from the literature, some means of organizing them became necessary. This is where the multidimensional, multitypical schema as presented in Chapter II was finally formulated as a means of setting parameters around the images in hand. In the process of formulating the analytic schema and applying it, many of the image indicators were of necessity eliminated, primarily because they did not fall into one of the dimensions. Through this process a pool of image indicators (items referring to specific images and image patterns) was developed containing approximately two hundred items. It was considered important however that we (1) validate theoretically the image indicators that had been selected for each image pattern, and (2) that the number of image indicators remaining be reduced to a reasonable number for the research instrument still to be developed.

The judging process

Therefore, the next step was to submit the images now remaining to a number of judges for the purpose of obtaining their judgment on whether specific image indicators did in fact measure some aspect of a specific image pattern.[4] For the purposes of judging, the five image patterns as profiled in Chapter II were summarized, making sure to include in each summary the main tenets of that specific pattern. These summaries were then typed, and the two hundred specific image indicators were typed on several following pages. Forty-four judges were selected, using the "snowball" technique noted above, constituting a wide diversity with reference to age, income, and education. Each judge was given the summary sheets and the image indicators and was asked to place the image indicators in the image pattern to which they strongly pointed. From this judging, one hundred and four image indicators were chosen as items to be used in the research instrument.[3] These items and their judging scores can be found in Appendix B.

The research instrument

The items to be used as indicators of the five image patterns now having been selected, the question arose, how can these items best be presented in an understandable way, cnnstituting a flowing, logical, research instrument? One of the first problems concerned how to help the person completing the instrument understand what was meant by images. Unless the respondent had a clear grasp of this, he would not be of much assistance. The best place to work this out proved to be with someone who had not been thinking about images. Since the instrument would be completed by some people with high school education or less, and therefore generally by people who are less likely to think in abstract concepts, the problem of understanding would best be solved in conjunction with some representative people with high school education or less. Discussions followed with several people, and gradually it became evident that the phrase "pictures in the mind" was a lucid, simple, and comprehensible means of understanding images. But obviously, many "pictures" may be present in the mind, therefore these "pictures" had to be in some way framed as a means of sorting out the pictures in the mind. It was discovered that if people were asked to focus on a specific topic, they could sort out their "pictures" and take note of them. Someone suggested that "It was like the mind having eyes and I simply 'see' inside the head rather than outside. Why not use the phraseology 'focusing the mind's eye?'" Why not? It seemed to catch the meaning we wanted.

As this problem of presentation was discussed, it also became apparent that some pictures in the mind are more distinct and intense than others, and that people put more emphasis on some pictures than on others. This suggested that we should be careful to measure not only what images are present, but also to what degree. If several images are strong, distinct, and sharp, they would no doubt have a more important place and function in what a person "sees" and does than if images are weak and blurred. Consequently, consideration turned to something like a "strongly present and strongly clear"/"hardly present and extremely unclear" spectrality of images. After considerable consultation with others, it was decided that a series of choices should be given to the respondent. Five such choices were developed. These choices, along with the other considerations set forth above, were then incorporated into an instruction sheet for the research instrument. (See Appendix C, first page.)

One task still remained--deciding upon some clear means of presenting the image indicators to the respondents. This step proved not to be too difficult after the considerations outlined above. If focusing was important, then some specific topic would have to be suggested upon which to focus. This was easily accomplished because we had already developed dimensions of meaning (Chapter II) and could use them as focal points. In addition, a rating scheme was formulated for the instrument, using the description on the instruction sheet. Finally, the way in which the indicators for measuring image patterns could be handled fell directly in line. Specific items had been selected for specific image patterns and specific dimensions. (See Appendix D.) Therefore, the indicators for each of the five image patterns could be placed randomly under their proper dimension. All that was needed to complete the construction of the instrument were some introductory and transitional statements and the instrument would have its structure and content. The instrument was then complete. (See Appendix C for the completed instrument.)

Sampling procedure for gathering data to test the image pattern theory

What remains methodologically is to explain the logic and procedure of drawing a sample from whom data could be gathered for testing the analytical schema of Chapter II, and for testing the instrument.

To make clear why the sample of people used in this final phase of this study were chosen, the discussion will begin with the primary purposes that such a sample had to fulfill. Three primary purposes stand out and are presented in their order of priority.

1. The dominant purpose was to gather data for testing (a) the theoretical dimensions and image patterns shown in Chapter II, and (b) the research instrument designed for gathering that data;
2. to gather data on levels of moral judgment in order to test the relationship between images of blacks and moral discernment;
3. to have some data to test the hypothesis that education is, in itself, an important explanatory variable in explaining one's images of blacks and one's level of moral discernment.

The question that had to be answered, then, was, what sort of sample can be cut out that will elicit the broadest possible range of responses to achieve the above stated purposes?

As deliberations on sampling began, the first plan considered was to take a random sample of all Beloit College students. It was soon decided that this was an ill-conceived route because it would simply restrict the universe of responses too much to query only students. As much as possible we wanted to avoid the "college sophomore" syndrome of research. Therefore, the next stage of deliberations came up with the idea of sampling Beloit College students and people from the larger Beloit community who held college degrees or more. The latter could have been accomplished by randomly sampling some Beloit institution having primarily college graduates in it and selecting a number of people, controlling only for the college degree factor. This would perhaps have produced a sample with a broader range of responses than a sample of just college students, but a major difficulty arose. Many studies in the field of majority/minority relations have suggested that level of education as indicated by number of years in school seems to be an important factor in explaining the way in which people of a majority racial and/or socio-cultural group view others in a minority racial and/or socio-cultural group. Therefore, to ignore people from a lower level of education category in our sample would also restrict the range of responses that are theoretically capable of being tapped.

Therefore, in the final deliberations emphasis was placed on the important fact that a sample was needed that would elicit as broad a range of images as possible and a wide spectrum of levels of moral judgment as well. To do that, it seemed quite logical to include as many different educational levels as possible.

With these deliberations as a backdrop, the sample for this final phase of data gathering was drawn in the following way. Two major social institutions were selected in the city of Beloit, Wisconsin--one to give us a sample of people having either high school diplomas and less, or college degrees or more; the other to give us a sample of current college students. From these two institutions eighty people were randomly selected consisting of (1) twenty people with high school diplomas or less; (2) twenty people who were currently in their first six months of college; (3) twenty people who were in their last six months of their college career at a four year college; and (4) twenty people who were graduated from college with an A.B and were employed in the community. All eighty of these people were asked to complete the research instrument developed for this study.

In addition to this, forty of the eighty people were asked to give time for an interview.[6] The forty selected for interviewing also reflected the educational stratification, with ten people randomly selected from each of the four educational levels noted above. Analysis of the interviews was completed by a member of the Kohlberg research team at Harvard University.

This methodological interlude has now played itself out and the moment is ripe for returning to the main attraction.[7]

CHAPTER IV

IMAGES AND IMAGING: DATA ANALYSIS

The question standing at the masthead of this chapter is simply, how well does the empirical data gathered specifically for this phase of analysis sustain the theoretical formulation of Chapter II?

As Chapter IV unfolds it will consist of three parts. The first part discusses which of the image pattern indicators (i.e. the individual items constituting the research instrument displayed in Appendix C) are shown to be valid indicators through analysis and how these indicators become "clustered" to form individual indexes for each image pattern and each dimension. As a precursor to analysis in the second and third parts of this chapter, it is necessary in the first part to analyze how specific indicators, within a specific dimension and within a specific image pattern, form an associative bond and what degree of internal consistency among or between indicators exists at this very specific level. For example, for cell A, image pattern one, dimension one (See Figure 2.1, p. 102) it is hypothesized that indicators 1, 4, 8, 9, 11, 14, and 20 (refer to Appendix D) would have a high degree of internal consistency in that specific image pattern and dimension, and that these indicators could be integrated to form a single index for cell A. This form of analysis will be conducted for every cell shown in Figure 2.1, in order to test whether the other cells have indicators with an internal consistency to warrant their integration into separate indexes.

The second part then undertakes the task of testing the stated hypothesis that in fact the ways in which people of a white majority population orient themselves toward people of a black minority are multidimensional. This phase of the analysis attempts to discover what level of association exists among *different dimensions* (as measured by separate indexes for each dimension) on the *same image pattern*. For example, we will be intent on discovering how cell A (image pattern one, dimension one) associates with cell B, C, D, and E (image pattern one again, dimensions 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5). This analysis will be carried out for each of the image patterns separately.

The third part analyzes the data for evidence to support a further hypothesis that not only is imaging multidimensional, but that images can also be differentiated according to different patterns. This third phase of analysis will give evidence concerning what kind of associations obtain among indexes of *different dimensions across different image patterns*. In other words, after giving evidence as to how the dimension indexes correlate *within* each specific image pattern, it is then of interest to discover whether an index of one dimension on one image pattern (e.g. eimage

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pattern two) is associated with another image pattern (e.g. five) on that same dimension. Through this analysis we will discover if in fact five different and distinct patterns of imaging blacks can be identified.[1]

Finally it should be emphasized, if it is not already evident, that in this chapter the analytical use of the data is on an aggregate basis and not on the level of observing each individual's responses. This means, therefore, that in this chapter the concern will not be with how an individual rated specific itmes on the research instrument, but rather with the overall patterns that appear based on the total number of responses throughout the whole sample of eighty people.[2]

Before such broad associations could materialize among different variables and the analysis described could be undertaken, correlations of each specific indicator (i.e. each item on the instrument) with all other indicators was called for. The particular statistic chosen for generating these correlation coefficients was the Goodman's and Kruskal's Gamma (γ). This statistic was chosen because it fits the primary presupposition of the data, namely, that the data is ordinal in nature and not interval. Therefore, gamma was used rather than Pearson's r, which is, strictly speaking, for interval data.

Gamma is a measure of association between two ordinal-level variables, and since this study has a small sample, the gamma statistic is good because it is "margin-free." This means that it is not limited by low marginal frequencies as small as those in this study could be in any one cell. The coefficient resulting from gamma computations yields the percentage of guessing errors eliminated by using knowledge of a second variable to predict order. Thus, a gamma coefficient of +.60 means that the proportional reduction of error between two variables is sixty percent, or to put it differently, that there is sixty percent agreement in variance between two variables. Gamma is directly interpretable.

One caution needs to be made about gamma before proceeding. Gamma represents the predictability of ordered pairs, which means that by analyzing numerical values of gamma we are not predicting what rank each case may have in relation to all other cases. Thus, the illustration of +.60 used above shows only that the two variables have an association with sixty percent of their variance together accounted for, and we know that in this case, the association of these two variables is in a positive or the same direction and not in a negative or reverse order. This would mean that if one variable were to be marked higher by one person than by another, the second variable would be sixty percent sure of being marked higher as well. It would not necessarily mean that if one person rates one indicator a 1 he would rate the other a 1 by our scoring technique. With that explanation of the Goodman's and Kruskal's Gamma, we will proceed.[3]

Constructing the Indexes

The first task is to make analytical sense of the large number of correlations produced by correlating every indicator with every other indicator. There are one hundred and four single indicators in the instrument and the number of correlations produced by the above method consisted of a total of 10,712 single correlations ((N) (N-1)=104 x 103=10,712). The goal of this phase of analysis is to discover which indicators cluster together resulting in a separation of some variables from others, thereby forming separate and distinct clusters of indicators. Through this process the result will be a set of twenty-five indexes, one each for each separate dimension and image pattern (the twenty-five individual cells of Figure 2.1).

Two theoretical formulations were of use in initiating this analysis. The first was the fact that specific indicators had been carefully developed to fit into a specific dimension in the theoretical schema. Thus, it was known from the outset on which dimension an indicator was to be placed, and this helped eliminate some of the fragmentation that comes with having such a large number of single correlations. But even then it was still only possible to know into which dimension a group of indicators was supposed to fit. The second theoretical formulation of value in helping to suggest into which image pattern a group of indicators would in all probability fit was the judging done by a panel of judges. As you will recall from the discussion on methodology in Chapter III, all of the indicators on the instrument were submitted to a panel of forty-four judges for judging the placement of indicators with reference to specific image patterns. (Appendix B displays the results of the judging.[4]) On the basis of this judging, it was possible to select a specific group of indicators for a specific dimension on a specific image pattern. Each group of indicators selected in this way was then placed on a correlation matrix and the correlation coefficients were recorded, producing the foundation from which an initial visual assessment could be made of the internal consistency of the cluster of indicators selected by the judges.[5]

However, this initial assessment of internal consistency of items selected by the judges revealed that some indicators had low correlations with some other indicators on the same preliminary correlation matrix. Possible reasons for this occurrence led to two considerations. (1) The possibility might be that the indicator had been misjudged by the panel of judges and therefore should be placed in another matrix on another image pattern. (2) Very similar to this first consideration was the fact that a number of indicators had been placed in two different image patterns by the judges, suggesting that the indicator may have been too vaguely worded and thus not really precisely suitable for any specific image pattern. Perhaps, then, the indicator simply did not associate well with any other indicators at all.[6]

In order to determine which of these two considerations held true in specific cases and thus be able to select the "best" indicators for each specific index to be developed, some method was needed to clarify the internal consistency of indicators for each index. The method used was a "clustering" technique of analysis.[7] The purpose of clustering analysis is to select only those indicators that have the highest and closest association with each other on a single correlation matrix. Thus, what is required of clustering is to show what indicators have the highest level of association with other indicators on its specific correlation matrix. By so doing, only the most precise indicators are selected in and any others are selected out, making certain that a group of indicators integrated into an index are pointing precisely to the desired image pattern.[8]

The clustering analysis was then done on every dimension in every image pattern, producing the indicators for twenty-three indexes (representing an index for every dimension in each image pattern).[9] After completing the clustering analysis, a thorough recheck was made of all indicators that had been eliminated to evaluate if some had been eliminated when they could well fit into some other dimension and/or image pattern. Through this procedure four indicators were found that were in reality good ones, but had been eliminated in clustering because they were in the wrong correlation matrix during the clustering process. They were put into their proper places and the resulting indexes for each dimension and image pattern appeared as follows:[10]

I. REACTIONARY

Dimension 1 - Personal Characteristics

4. -are sexually undisciplined.
9. -lack imagination.
11. -are happy-go-lucky.
14. -have a limited intellectual ability.

Dimensinn 2 - Actions and Desires

30. -all the radical talk shows a kind of self-pity.
33. -they are acting kind of uppity sometimes.
37. -seem to want more than they deserve.
39. -protest and idealistic demands are largely irrelevant.

Dimension 3 - Personal Relationships

44. -often don't seem to appreciate the great deal that whites have done for them.
45. -usually are not good neighbors.
50. -are to be rigorously excluded from associating with white members of the opposite sex.

Dimension 4 - Place in Society

61. -tend to want to follow others rather than lead.
63. -tend to dilute educational standards and the standard of living.
66. -are usually more fitted for laboring jobs.

Dimension 5 - Source of the Racial Problem

82. -have not taken responsibility for themselves.
99. -lots of Communists use Negroes as stooges.
103. -the government is pushing integration too hard.

* * * * *

II. CAUTIONARY

Dimension 1 - Personal Characteristics

1. -are a retiring type people.
5. -haven't understood themselves well enough yet.
15. -have lacked direction, but are gradually coming around.
18. -need to learn some good discipline and they'll be o.k.

Dimension 2 - Actions and Desires

29. -whites need to show Negroes how to pull themselves up.
35. -law and order must be maintained.

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36. -perhaps the harshness that still remains in their lives should be played down since it is getting less.
40. -whites have a responsibility to show Negroes that they can make it in this society.
41. -being too pushy will hurt their cause.

Dimension 3 - Personal Relationships

56. -I don't have much chance for any contact with them.
59. -I don't understand them.

Dimension 4 - Place in Society

(no indicators)

Dimension 5 - Source of the Racial Problem

83. -failed to get a good education.
85. -need to achieve more.
101. -whites need to help Negroes set goals and achieve them.

* * * * *

III. LIBERAL

Dimension 1 - Personal Characteristics

22. -are very similar to all other men and women.

Dimension 2 - Actions and Desires

26. -the American system can achieve equality for all.
38. -the progress being made toward equality should be emphasized.

Dimension 3 - Personal Relationships

57. -I should get involved with them more.

Dimension 4 - Place in Society

69. -will soon move permanently into full participation in American life.
70. -should simply be treated as Americans.
81. -the country is committed spiritually to integration.

Dimension 5 - Source of the Racial Problem

91. -too much is made of differences in color.
92. -most important is acceptance of Negroes and getting them into our society.

* * * * *

IV. RADICAL

Dimension 1 - Personal Characteristics

2. -are the most dislocated and deprived people on the American landscape.
10. -often hate the white man.
19. -suffer shock after shock of ostracism.

Dimension 2 - Actions and Desires

32. -whites need to listen to Negroes and accept their direction as well.

Dimension 3 - Personal Relationships

55. -if I don't work to change things, I am part of the problem.
58. -I feel personally conscience stricken over what has been done to Negroes.

Dimension 4 - Place in Society

68. -have a special history that gives them unique insights and contributions to our society.
71. -have a culture that has the original, the ingenious and the arousing about it.

Dimension 5 - Source of the Racial Problem

84. -rightfully see the white man as oppressor.
87. -are hemmed in by walls of race.
88. -have been "colonized" by whites.
90. -are victims of white racism.
96. -my place is in changing white people's views of Negroes.
97. -whites do not understand the Negro situation.
102. -whites seem unconcerned about the damage their intolerance inflicts.
104. -whites give words but little action.

* * * * *

V. HYPERIDENTIFIED

Dimension 1 - Personal Characteristics

3. -can save our society if anyone can.
17. -are heroes who serve as the symbol of the problems suffered by modern man in general.
21. -have to laugh to keep from crying.

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Dimension 2 - Actions and Desires

24. -the greatest heroes in American history are black martyrs.
31. -Negroes are determined to defend themselves by force of arms if necessary.
34. -they are not interested in accepting American society as it is.

Dimension 3 - Personal Relationships

46. -can teach me more than my parents or any white people ever could on many things.

Dimension 4 - Place in Society

64. -are in many ways more important in the growth of America than the white man.
72. -the history of the Negro is the history of America.

Dimension 5 - Source of the Racial Problem

95. -everything about white society is racist to the core.

* * * * *

That constitutes the body of indicators resulting from the clustering analysis. Basically all of these items weathered subsequent careful scrutiny. A few indicators were rejected when they were finally compared with all other items on all other indexes. For example, indicators 39, 40, 18, 81, 84, 88, 10, 21, and 95 were rejected because they were too scattered in their correlations with other items on various image patterns and dimensions, suggesting that they were not precisely enough stated.

Conclusion to first part

Overall, if a comparison is made between the way the judges placed specific indicators and the indicators accepted as a result of the clustering analysis and cross tabulation of

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each indicator with every other indicator, the placement is quite congruent, with a few exceptions particularly for the reactionary and a few for the cautionary. For example, the clustering analysis places indicators 30, 33, 37, 44, 61, and 103 in the reactionary, while the judges place them in the cautionary.

Upon further deliberation, it becomes clear that in subsequent research more indicators need to be tested for the reactionary pattern and these indicators will need to be more sharply and clearly stated in such a way that the reactionary is more sharply distinct from the cautionary. A number of indicators now in the reactionary pattern are good ones and do differentiate the reactionary from the cautionary. Others do not do so and correlate highly in both image patterns. Consequently, as will be shown later, while statistically there is a differentiation between the reactionary and the cautionary as they now stand, I am convinced that this can be improved by subsequent refinement of indicators through further research.

There is also an additional important reason for subsequent research that will produce image pattern indicators. Through the process of cluster analysis and cross tabulation about forty-seven of the initial 104 image pattern indicators were rejected. Consequently, some indexes in the image patterns were left with only one indicator. In and of itself this one indicator usually serves well as an indicator of that particular dimension and image pattern, but it is also obvious that only one indicator is not sufficient for a final set of indicators on any one index. It becomes necessary, then, in subsequent research to select additional indicators for those indexes with only one indicator.[11]

Testing for Multidimensionality

With the indicators selected for each index, it is in order to proceed to the second phase of analysis. In the second part of this chapter the purpose is to discover whether or not the _dimensions within a single image pattern_ can be shown to be relatively independent of each other when correlated. This analysis requires that each index be compared with all other indexes _within each distinct image pattern_.[12] In the interest of making the presentation of data less cumbersome (and more understandable) and at the same time accurately show the interrelationship of the dimensions on image patterns, the _average_ correlation coefficient of all correlations on an index will be used for comparative purposes.[13] This will be done because it gives a more lucid picture of the overall dimensional associations. In addition, what is of interest to us in this part is to compare indexes and their internal integrity as over-against another index, and not the comparison of individual indicators. The latter has already been done in the first part.

Dimensional associations for the reactionary pattern

The analysis begins with the pattern of images called the reactionary, showing comparisons among dimensions one through five. Table 4.1 presents the average coefficient of association among the five dimensions for the reactionary.

TABLE 4.1

AVERAGE GAMMA CORRELATIONS FOR EACH DIMENSION INDEX RELATED TO ALL OTHER DIMENSION INDEXES FOR THE REACTIONARY

Dimension Index ↓→	1	2	3	4	5
1	*.71	.61	.61	.52	.50
2		*.53	.53	.42	.53
3			*.65	.56	.50
4				*.57	.39
5					*.53

*Boldface figures represent the internal average gamma correlation of all items taken together internally on that one index.
+Average gamma correlation of all coefficients=.517.

In Chapter II it was hypothesized that each of the dimensions on one image pattern would be relatively independent of all others. A quick evaluation of Table 4.1 gives firm evidence that for the reactionary (and only on that image pattern at this point) this hypothesis is not substantiated. By normal standards, correlation coefficients of this level for this statistic are considered to be high. If we look at each dimension individually we find that on dimension one (personal characteristics) the average internal gamma correlation for that index is .71. This is a very high internal consistency and is higher than its correlation with other dimensional indexes. Yet, even when the personal

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characteristics index is compared with the source of the racial problem index, which is the lowest of the comparative correlations, it still reveals that its association with dimension five is high at .50. A very similar occurrence appears when we consider the association of dimension two index--actions and desires--with all others for the reactionary. The actions and desires index associates quite closely with the other four, especially with the personal characteristics and source of the racial problem indexes. However, comparing the indexes for personal characteristics and actions and desires, we find that if an individual were to score high on the actions and desires index as a reactionary, the chances are that he would be even more likely to score high on the reactionary index for personal characteristics. This means that a score on dimension two predicts even more conclusively how he will score on dimension one.

Finally, it appears that the place in society index has two associations that are more independent than any other of the dimensional associations. These two points of greater independence (though even here we normally would consider these to be moderate to moderately high associations) are where place in society associates with the actions and desires index and the source of the racial problem index (.42 and .39 respectively). This is particularly interesting since dimension five is quite consistently and strongly associated with all other dimensions, except dimension four.

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Overall then, the reactionary pattern shows a high degree of dimensional inter-correlation, with few exceptions, suggesting in this case strong unidimensionality.

Significance of this conclusion

This conclusion stands as a confirmation of two other studies previously conducted in the field of majority/minority relations, and as a disconfirmation of our hypothesis of independence of dimensions. The first is a psychoanalytic study, The Authoritarian Personality, referred to earlier in this work. After considerable analysis the authors of that study concluded that,

> On the basis of the various scale results presented above and of supporting evidence from interviews, we can now attempt to formulate a more detailed theory of ethnocentric ideology. . . .
>
> . . . .
>
> Ethnocentrism is based on a pervasive and rigid ingroup-outgroup distinction; it involves stereotyped negative imagery and hostile attitudes regarding outgroups, stereotyped positive imagery and submissive attitudes regarding ingroups, and a hierarchical, authoritarian view of group interaction in which ingroups are rightly dominant, outgroups subordinate.[14]

In other words, they found that prejudice of a strongly negative and stereotypic nature was primarily unidimensional and that a particular personality syndrome called the "authoritarian personality" was found to stand behind such a unidimensional, integrated position.

The second study in which unidimensionality was confirmed is Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism by Glock and Stark.[15] Of particular interest, with reference to the present study, is their following conclusion:

> The second important finding of the factor analysis is that the negative items fell in a single factor. Thus there is no need to distinguish several types of anti-Semitic beliefs and construct separate measures of each. Instead these data suggest that anti-Semitic beliefs tend to form a single coherent negative picture of the Jew rather than a variety of pictures held independently of one another.[16]
> [Emphasis added]

They then proceeded to construct a measure of anti-Semitic beliefs by taking two items from each of three dimensions used to measure anti-Semitism. Their Table 46, page 124, shows an intercorrelation matrix of all of these six items correlated with each other, producing an average product moment correlation of .547 for Protestants and a .591 for Roman Catholics. They then conclude by stating that:

> This gives further confidence to our decision to treat anti-Semitic beliefs as unidimensional, as primarily forming a single hostile portrait of the Jew.[17]

Again it is evident that the data shown in Table 4.1 gives strong support to their conclusions. The average gamma correlations for Table 4.1 in this study is .517, nearly the same as their average product moment correlation for Protestants and slightly under their average product moment correlation for Roman Catholics.[18]

However, it is the contention and argument of this researcher that the above two examples cited have drawn their conclusions too soon, and on data representing only a small portion of the social world with regard to relationships of majority and minority.[19] There is more to relationships

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between majority and minority than a highly stereotypic, highly negative relationship, even for those who may score high on the Glock and Stark anti-Semitism index. It is distorting reality to attempt to cram individuals only into one view of majority/minority relationships. Therefore, the next step in this study is to go beyond the unidimensional concept supported by our analysis of the reactionary to explore the possibility that relationships between majority and minority (in this study black/white relations) may not be all that unidimensional when viewed more comprehensively.

Dimensional associations on image patterns two through four

To move beyond this point, it is now in order to do as was done for the reactionary as shown in Table 4.1 for all other dimensions on all other image patterns. To make the presentation of the data more efficient and understandable, the intercorrelation matrices for dimensions within each image pattern are presented simultaneously in Table 4.2 which follows on pages 138 and 139.

TABLE 4.2

AVERAGE GAMMA CORRELATIONS FOR EACH DIMENSION INDEX RELATED TO ALL OTHER DIMENSION INDEXES. (IMAGE PATTERNS CONSIDERED SEPARATELY)

II. Cautionary

Dimension Index ↓→	1	2	3	4	5
1	.47	.38	.23	X	.29
2		.61	.29	X	.44
3			.41	X	.13
4				X	X
5					.50

+Average gamma correlation=.293

III. Liberal

Dimension Index ↓→	1	2	3	4	5
1	*	.10	.09	.37	.52
2		.33	.27	.47	.30
3			*	.25	.29
4				.42	.47
5					.55

*Only one item on index; no internal average gamma correlation.
+Average gamma correlation=.313

(Continued--next page)

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TABLE 4.2--Continued

IV. Radical

Dimension Index ↓→	1	2	3	4	5
1	.45	.19	.31	.17	.33
2		*	.29	.37	.24
3			.48	.29	.30
4				.56	.26
5					.44

*Only one item on index; no internal average gamma correlation.
+Average gamma correlation=.278

V. Hyperidentified

Dimension Index ↓→	1	2	3	4	5
1	.56	.19	.31	.21	.37
2		.37	.11	.07	.15
3			*	.18	.40
4				*	.19
5					**

*Only one item on index; no internal average gamma correlation.
+Average gamma correlation=.178
**No index available.

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The first factor of extreme importance to our argument is to note carefully that the comparative average gamma correlations of dimensional indexes within these four image patterns has dropped significantly. For the reactionary pattern the average gamma correlation (Table 4.1) was .517, showing a high unidimensionality. But once we expand our consideration to consider different patterns by which people of a majority group may orient themselves toward a minority, it becomes clear that the conclusions of Adorno, et. al., and Glock and Stark showing that there is a "single coherent negative" picture loses its all encompassing significance. Specifically we see that the cautionary has an average gamma correlation of .293, the liberal a .313, the radical a .278, and the hyperidentified a .178. These average, overall intercorrelations for different dimensions on an image pattern can all be considered quite low, and in turn give credence to the concept of multidimensionality.

If we look more closely at the average gamma correlations for all dimensions within each image pattern, a much different result is shown than was the case for the reactionary (Table 4.1). An unevenness of dimensions as they correlated with each other is shown quite well. Referring to Table 4.2 III (the liberal) it is clear that the personal characteristics index has an erratic relationship to other dimensional indexes in its own image pattern. It has hardly any relationship to the actions and desires and personal relationships indexes, but then has a moderate correlation with the place in society

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index and a high correlation with the source of the racial problem index. The dimensional index for personal relationships has a low relationship to the actions and desires, place in society, and source of the racial problem indexes, and hardly any correlation with the index for personal characteristics. On the other hand, the place in society index has a moderate relationship with personal characteristics, and a moderately high correlation with the actions and desires and source of the racial problem indexes. The other parts of Table 4.2 (II, IV, V) show the same sort of erratic relationship with other dimensional indexes, with even a lower interrelationship as is shown by the overall average gamma correlations.

Clearly the unidimensionality of image pattern has ceased to exist. What, then, can be implied in this? First, it becomes clear that once we leave the more extremely negative type of patterned orientation toward blacks, it is not possible to depend on a unidimensionality that will show directly how a person will orient himself toward Negroes on different dimensions having different substantive meaning. It should be considered significant, no doubt, that in the most extreme negative orientation toward blacks we do find a kind of monolithicity about how a person "sees" and "lives" the other. That sort of negative imaging seems to pervade the whole fabric of the being of the other and therefore affects nearly the whole of the way a person holding that negative view relates to the others of the minority.

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The negative image grips the whole of the other.

But it also seems quite logical that this tight grip would not necessarily maintain an even sort of hold and would begin to break down, or be released, in an uneven manner once we move beyond the monolithic stage. That is to say that the ways one views another may become more diverse as he begins to change his thinking about blacks. The meaning of different ways of seeing blacks may vary considerably, some having more intense, personal, and therefore intimate significance for the beholder than others.

Let's consider one possibility. It might be hypothesized that one of the first dimensional factors that would have to change before any of the other dimensions of meaning with which we are working in this study would change would be the dimension relating to personal characteristics. For unless a person moves beyond a negative imagery concerning the very pervasive "nature of the other's being" (his personal characteristics) it would be very difficult for him to have more accepting imagery of such dimensions of meaning as personal relationships, or the way blacks act, and particularly of the place of blacks in the society. Furthermore, it might also be expected that once the monolithic grip has broken, the change in imagery would take place on different levels or dimensions at a different pace. For example, it might be hypothesized that one dimension that would move more slowly than others would involve the matter of personal relationships. It is conceivable that one's imagery on the dimension of personal characteristics might view blacks as "very similar to all other people," (the liberal), at the same time seeing blacks in the specific category of people as "children" (the cautionary), and therefore quite logically view interracial sex as completely taboo and as a work of the devil (the reactionary). After all, everyone knows that mature adults do not "normally" have sexual relationships with children. All of this, on the one hand, illustrates why it is significant that we have shown the independence of different dimensions of meaning (Table 4.2), and on the other hand how it is quite supportable theoretically and practically.

A further theoretical discovery-- the dynamic quality of imaging

An additional important insight that this study and analysis is able to add to former empirical as well as theoretical understandings of black/white relations is a dynamic quality of relationship that otherwise fails to materialize if we see majority/minority relationships as only unidimensional, negative, and of one orientation pattern. In order to elucidate this insight, we need for the moment to shift our thinking from the aggregate level used above to the individual level. Recall that this study has developed a research instrument on which people are asked to rate the intensity of the images they have of blacks. (See Appendix C, the instruction sheet for the instrument.) By scoring individuals on a series of separate and independent indexes for different image patterns and different dimensions of meaning, an overall "motion picture" is obtained.[20] What this larger, overall picture gives us is two primary discoveries. First, it is possible, by taking an overall score for each image pattern, to see in what image pattern a person's imagery of blacks is most concentrated and intense. That then tells us his strongest picture by which he "lives" the life of blacks as he sees them and acts as a kind of gyroscope to keep the world of black/white relationships on a more or less even course.[21] At the same time, however, since we have his overall scores on the other image patterns as well, it is possible to evaluate the direction of his movement. It might be expected that the next highest score on an image pattern (after determining the pattern having the highest score) would be directly to the left or to the right of the one in which he is strongest. However, this cannot be determined finally, because our research does not show whether the five image patterns are evolutionary in a straight line.

For illustrative purposes, a set of scores taken from Appendix F reads this way: image pattern one=183; image pattern two=250; image pattern three=440; image pattern four=313; and image pattern five=179.[22] By considering these overall scores over all image patterns, this individual "peaks" in image pattern three with a score of 440, but is next highest in image pattern four with a score of 313 and next highest in image pattern two with a score of 250.

Although we would want to have further information about the person, perhaps obtained in an interview following the completion of the research schedule, it seems clear that this individual is most oriented to the liberal image pattern, leaning toward the radical image pattern. This movement might be shown by a 3(4), suggesting that three is highest, with four backing up the three.

Conclusion to second part

A point has been reached in the analysis at which the hypothesis concerning multidimensionality in the second part has been given some pretty strong supportive evidence and a conclusion or two can now be drawn. It would be well, of course, to keep uppermost in mind that this is an exploratory study and that further work is needed. But realizing that, the following conclusions can be proffered. First, it has again been shown that majority and minority relations, particularly black/white relations in this case, do have one aspect to them that is highly monolithic and unidimensional. In this, our study lends support to previous studies. But if we leave that one aspect and move beyond it, a much different conclusion concerning black/white relationships develops, which supports an earlier hypothesis. That is, namely, that the way in which white people image black people, and as a result orient their relationships accordingly, is quite highly differentiated and multidimensional in nature. This leads further to the conclusion that such relationships have a dynamic quality about them that can only be discovered if we do develop further a multidimensional, multipatterned approach to studying such relationships. It would seem that part of the difficulty with the social and behavior sciences has been that we too often fail to be able to show the dynamic quality of social interaction. I would not be so arrogant as to suggest that this study overwhelmingly achieves that much needed flexibility and dynamic quality, but on the other hand it is suggestive as one way to approach it in the field of black/white relations--and perhaps in other areas of study as well.

Testing for Multipatternality

In the second part of this chapter we were able to show--by considering each image pattern separately and intercorrelating the five dimensions within each image pattern--that after moving beyond image pattern one a relatively low intercorrelation of dimensions was sustained, suggesting the relatively strong independence of the dimensional factors. One final phase of analysis remains in which it is necessary to test the hypothesis that five distinct image patterns can be identified. The analysis in this phase will take the following course. (1) First we will take image pattern one as a single, relatively unidimensional unit (following the conclusion drawn in the second part of this chapter) and compare its intercorrelation with all other image patterns. This will be done by comparing the average correlation of all dimensions taken collectively on the reactionary (.517 as shown in the second part) with the average correlation of all dimensions for the cautionary, all dimensions for the liberal, all dimensions for the radical, and all dimensions for the hyperidentified. This will show the degree to which image pattern one is independent of all other image patterns. (2) After testing for independence of the reactionary as a unidimensional pattern from all other image patterns, it is not possible to take all dimensions together on image patterns two, three, four, and five, simply because they are quite independent. In other words, it will be necessary to consider each dimension separately and test for the degree of differentiation among the cautionary, liberal, radical and hyperidentified. (3) Finally, a discussion of the results will be given as a means of summarizing the findings and pointing the way toward areas that need future work.

A comparison of image pattern one, the reactionary, with other patterns

After discovering that image pattern one sustained within itself a high degree of internal dimensional consistency, it could be expected that it would very likely stand well apart from all of the other image patterns in its uniqueness. Table 4.3 shows the degree to which this is true.

TABLE 4.3

AVERAGE GAMMA CORRELATIONS OF ALL DIMENSIONS FOR THE REACTIONARY PATTERN WITH AVERAGE GAMMA CORRELATIONS OF ALL DIMENSIONS FOR EACH OF THE OTHER IMAGE PATTERNS

Image Pattern ↓ →	I	II	III	IV	V
I	.517	.389	.032	-.093	.014

The first result confronting us is that the reactionary has virtually no relationship whatsoever with the liberal, radical, and hyperidentified image patterns, maintaining a slight negative association with the radical. This is certainly substantiation of what would be expected to occur. The reactionary is sharply independent of these other three. The result with the cautionary is not quite as clear-cut however. An average correlation of .389 means that a moderate interrelationship appears between the reactionary and the cautionary. It would perhaps be expected that some overflow would occur with an image pattern standing directly next to image pattern one making the level of intercorrelation partially understandable. However, since this is an exploratory work and in any case, since it is prudent to attempt to understand why an expected result is not solidly confirmed, a more intricate breakdown of the relationship between image patterns one and two is called for. Table 4.4 shows the average gamma correlations for each dimension index for the cautionary compared with each dimension index for the reactionary.

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TABLE 4.4

COMPARISON OF THE REACTIONARY PATTERN WITH THE CAUTIONARY PATTERN, ALL DIMENSIONS

	Dimensions on the reactionary pattern (I)				
	(.71)**	(.53)**	(.65)**	(.57)**	(.53)**
Dimensions on the cautionary pattern (II)	Personal Characteristics	Actions and Desires	Personal Relationships	Place in Society	Source of the Racial Problem
Personal Characteristics	.48	.36	.46	.36	.35
Actions and Desires	.50	.52	.53	.46	.42
Personal Relationships	.28	.25	.37	.32	.24
Place in Society	*	*	*	*	*
Source of the Racial Problem	.35	.38	.43	.37	.35

*No index available

**Internal average gamma correlation on dimension index

The difficulty between the reactionary and the cautionary patterns begins to surface. It becomes evident that the largest degree of overlap between the two patterns surfaces at dimension two--actions and desires for the cautionary. Noting specifically the intercorrelations of the actions and

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desires index of the cautionary with all dimensional indexes for the reactionary (Row 2, Table 4.4), we find that the intercorrelations are .50, .52, .53, .46 and .42. Those correlations show an average of .49, a high interrelationship with all dimensions for the reactionary pattern, which has its own overall average of .517 (.52). Dimensions one and five (Row 1 and 5, Table 4.4) for the cautionary are the next highest in relationship to all dimensions on the reactionary pattern. Dimension one for the cautionary (Row 1, Table 4.4) correlates with the dimensions for the reactionary at .48, .36, .46, .36, and .35, yielding an overall average of .40. Dimension five for the cautionary (Row 5, Table 4.4) correlates with the dimensions for the reactionary at .35, .38, .43, .37, .35, with an average correlation of .38. Both of these are well under the average intercorrelation of the actions and desires index of the cautionary with the dimension indexes for the reactionary showing a moderate average intercorrelation. Finally, the personal relationships dimensional index for the cautionary yields a low relationship to the reactionary dimensional indexes with .28, .25, .37, .32 and .24, giving an average correlation of .29. Thus, dimension three--personal relationships--for the cautionary alone yields a differentiation between the reactionary and the cautionary that would suggest a supportable difference. The other dimensions tend to show more interdependence.

What then can be concluded from this? One's first response may be to say that actually the reactionary and the cautionary are all-of-a-piece, thereby suggesting that they should be combined. Yet two factors can be brought to bear against such a quick action. The first factor is that theoretically it seems reasonable and apparent that the reactionary and the cautionary are actually distinct patterns, having their own integrity and their own unique basis by which relationships to blacks are determined. As just one example, it is quite a different response to say on the one hand that blacks are innately inferior, as theorized by the reactionary, and that they are like children needing parental guidance until fully matured, as theorized by the cautionary.

The second factor against combining the two image patterns arises from the empirical results. Even though in Table 4.4 some fairly high interrelationships obtain between these two patterns, there is likewise some evidence that a differentiation lies nascent within, but has not bee tapped well. For example, the overall average intercorrelation of the two patterns (.389), while not sharply differentiating, is definitely not identical, nor even similar, therefore giving some support to the hypothesis that there is a distinction between them. The same is true for some of the specific correlations across the two image patterns on different dimensions, especially in the correlation of dimension three for the cautionary with the dimensions for the reactionary. Consequently, one conclusion to be drawn from this is that future research needs to be concerned with sharpening the specific indicators to be used as indicators of one image pattern over another. As a matter of fact, this conclusion became evident after the fact as I analyzed again the responses of the judges as shown in Appendix B. The indicators must be more precisely worded and oriented toward a specific image pattern.[23] For example, indicators 30 (all the radical talk shows a kind of self pity), 33 (they are acting kind of uppity sometimes), and 37 (seem to want more than they deserve), are good examples of this. The use of words like "kind of" and "seems" do not admit of sharply distinguishing a person's orientation as between the reactionary and the cautionary.

Having now given close attention to the relationship between two image patterns, it is in order to move to a comparison of the other image patterns, this time by dimension.

A comparison of the cautionary, the liberal, the radical, and the hyperidentified image patterns

In comparing image patterns two through five (leaving behind image pattern one, the reactionary) we will do so one dimension at a time due to their apparent independence one from another.

Dimension one--personal characteristics

First in order for consideration are the cautionary, liberal, radical, and hyperidentified image patterns on the first dimensional index only--personal characteristics.

Table 4.5 shows the comparisons of the average gamma correlations for each index.

TABLE 4.5

COMPARISON OF THE AVERAGE GAMMA CORRELATIONS FOR DIMENSION ONE--PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS--INDEXES ON IMAGE PATTERNS II, III, IV, & V.

	Cautionary (II) Dimension 1	Liberal (III) Dimension 1	Radical (IV) Dimension 1	Hyperidentified(V) Dimension 1
Cautionary (II) Dimension 1	**.47	-.10	.09	.16
Liberal (III) Dimension 1		*	.13	.03
Radical (IV) Dimension 1			.45	.27
Hyperidentified (V) Dimension 1				.56

*Only one indicator on index; no internal average index correlation.
**Bold type correlations are the internal average gamma correlations for that one dimension, image pattern index.

This time the intercorrelations on dimension one across image patterns give strong support to the hypothesis that distinct image patterns can be identified. As is evident, the cautionary index for dimension one stands quite independently of any of the other image patterns (Row 1, Table 4.5). A clean break

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appears between the cautionary and the liberal (.47 and -.10 respectively) and thereafter the correlations are very low. In future work this can even be improved upon by taking care to identify specific indicators that correlate highly with the index for image pattern two, (preferably above the level of .47 that now exists for the internal average correlations on the index) and correlate low on other image pattern indexes. In this manner the internal average gamma correlation on that one index can be raised and at the same time be more highly differentiated from other image pattern indexes on dimension one.

The liberal index for dimension one correlated with the other indexes is even more markedly distinct (Row 2, column 2, Table 4.5). It should be cautioned, however, that only one indicator now exists on that index and more must be added. The radical and hyperidentified indexes for dimension one, when correlated with the other indexes, likewise shows the distinctiveness of their respective image patterns quite nicely, yielding a strong disassociation with other indexes on other image patterns.

Dimension two--actions and desires

The second set of intercorrelations for comparison is on dimension two pertaining to the actions and desires of blacks as seen by whites. Table 4.6 shows the interrelationships among the cautionary, liberal, radical and hyperidentified for the dimension two indexes.

TABLE 4.6

COMPARISON OF THE AVERAGE GAMMA CORRELATIONS FOR DIMENSION TWO--ACTIONS AND DESIRES--INDEXES ON IMAGE PATTERNS II, III, IV, AND V.

	Cautionary (II) Dimension 2	Liberal (III) Dimension 2	Radical (IV) Dimension 2	Hyperidentified (V) Dimension 2
Cautionary (II) Dimension 2	**.61	.44	-.10	.05
Liberal (III) Dimension 2		.33	.09	.14
Radical (IV) Dimension 2			*	.08
Hyperidentified (V) Dimension 2				.37

*Only one indicator on index; no internal average index correlation.
**Bold type correlations are the internal average gamma correlations for that one dimension, image pattern index.

As we look at this table, again we see support for the hypothesis that image patterns are discreet. This is especially true of the relationship between the radical and the hyperidentified. The radical index for dimension two correlates with the other three at -.10, .09, .08 (Row 3, column 3, Table 4.6). The hyperidentified index for dimension two correlates with all others at a low .05, .14, .08 (column 4, Table 4.6). Turning, then, to the cautionary and the liberal indexes on dimension two it is clear first of all that each of the indexes correlates very low with the radical and hyperidentified indexes on dimension two, adding further support to the hypothesis. However, this is not the case in the relationship between dimension two indexes for the cautionary and the hyperidentified. The cautionary index is the better of the two, resulting from the fact that it has a very high internal consistency and stands out more clearly in that respect. Nevertheless, its correlation with the liberal index on dimension two is still quite high (.44) and needs careful attention. One of the problematics of their relationship appears when the internal average correlation (showing internal consistency) is considered. It shows a moderately low .33. This means, evidently, that the indicators selected for this specific index, while theoretically having much to suggest their placement in the liberal image pattern, do not show consistency together in pointing to image pattern three. In other words, they are not in agreement in their representation of the liberal image pattern as evinced by the empirical data in this study. Here again "precision in statement" is less than could be desired and must be improved in future work if this index is to be valid.

It is also worth noting for the record that for one reason or another (not now present to my memory) the liberal image pattern as a whole (i.e. throughout all dimensions) simply ended up after the research instrument was finalized not having very many specific indicators. This was an oversight on my part that will now have to be carefully corrected by further research in which specific attention is given to selecting a larger number of indicators from the image pattern descriptions in Chapter II and then testing them empirically. This result points to the conclusion, in this specific case, that the index for the liberal image pattern stands as the primary difficulty, not the cautionary index, and that more precisely stated indicators will have to be developed. Otherwise, overall the image patterns on dimension two again show strong individuality and concommitant differentiation.

Dimension three--personal relationships

Dimension three gives consideration to different ways in which a white person might orient his personal relationships with blacks. One might expect then fairly clearcut images of how blacks are a part of one's own personal sphere of being. Table 4.7 (see next page) shows the interrelationships among image patterns on dimension three.

TABLE 4.7

COMPARISONS OF THE AVERAGE GAMMA CORRELATIONS FOR DIMENSION THREE--PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS--INDEXES ON IMAGE PATTERNS II, III, IV AND V.

	Cautionary (II) Dimension 3	Liberal (III) Dimension 3	Radical (IV) Dimension 3	Hyperidentified (V) Dimension 3
Cautionary (II) Dimension 3	****.41**	.27	.07	.01
Liberal (III) Dimension 3		*	.52	.20
Radical (IV) Dimension 3			**.48** +(**.50**)	**.42** (**.34**)
Hyperidentified (V) Dimension 3				*

*Only one indicator on index; no internal average index correlation.
**Bold type correlations are the internal average gamma correlations for that one dimension, image pattern index.
+The correlations shown in parenthesis are produced if the indicator in image pattern three index is moved to image pattern four index. (See text for further explanation).

The results for this dimension are somewhat mixed in terms of supporting the hypothesis of image pattern differentiation. The cautionary index for dimension three shows quite a strong differentiation from other image patterns

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with intercorrelations of .27, .07, and .01 (Row 1, Table 4.7). This very definitely shows that the cautionary index does stand alone, though again it would seem important to attempt to make the distinction more distinct in subsequent work, possibly by the means noted above in the discussion under image pattern one. If, however, we move to the liberal index for dimension three we find a very definite interdependent relationship appearing between the liberal and the radical indexes for dimension three (.52), but then a good differentiation again appearing in the relationships of the liberal index for dimension three with the cautionary and hyperidentified indexes.

A number of different attempts were made to discover why this index for the liberal shows so little differentiation from the index for the radical. Keep in mind that this index is a one item index (#57, I should get more involved with them) and if that one item doesn't differentiate well from other indexes, there is nothing to fall back on. The one best conclusion that seems evident here is that the one indicator used for the liberal index on dimension three should actually be placed in image pattern four. I am well aware that this conclusion is made on a limited amount of evidence due to the fact that only one indicator exists. But if that change is made, the first piece of evidence to note is that the internal average gamma correlation of the radical index for dimension three is actually raised with the inclusion of indicator number 57 as is shown in the bold type correlation in parentheses (Row 4, Table 4.7). In addition, note that the row and column under the liberal pattern would be eliminated, because only one indicator was usable on that index and we have now moved it to the radical index for dimension three.

Finally, if we recompute the relationship of the radical index for dimension three (now including indicator 57) with the other indexes, we find that not only has the internal consistency of the radical index been raised (from .48 to .50) but that its relationship to the cautionary and hyperidentified indexes are more differentiated and distinct. This is one possibility only. It may be that on dimension three--personal relationships--the liberal and the radical will turn out not to be differentiated. This would suggest that for both patterns personal interaction with blacks is viewed quite the same. This would be another hypothesis to consider in subsequent work.

If we consider the hyperidentified index for dimension three, there again appears a moderate interrelationship between the hyperidentified and the radical indexes, with a sharp drop to virtually no association at all with the cautionary.

Let's look for a moment at what effect the change made above by moving item 57 from the liberal to the radical index has on the hyperidentified index for dimension three. We note first that the hyperidentified index has a low relationship to the one item that originally constituted the liberal index (item 57). The association was .20. In addition, when we move item 57 to the radical index, it improves the degree of differentiation between the radical and the hyperidentified indexes, moving it from .42 down to .34. Thus, we do improve the disassociation of these two indexes by the change.

The results in dimension three have not been as clear-cut as in the previous, but certainly evidence is presented to support the hypothesis that image patterns are differentiated.

Dimension four--place in society

Dimension four is concerned with the way whites see blacks fitting into the present society. As it turns out, there is one image pattern on dimension four that did not produce any items for an index. This is the cautionary. There are, however, indexes for the other three image patterns and the interrelationships are shown in Table 4.8. (See the next page.)

TABLE 4.8

COMPARISONS OF THE AVERAGE GAMMA CORRELATIONS FOR DIMENSION FOUR--PLACE IN SOCIETY--INDEXES ON IMAGE PATTERNS II, III, IV AND V.

	Cautionary (II) Dimension 4	Liberal (III) Dimension 4	Radical (IV) Dimension 4	Hyperidentified (V) Dimension 4
Cautionary (II) Dimension 4	***	***	***	***
Liberal (III) Dimension 4		**.42	.16	.13
Radical (IV) Dimension 4			.56	.34
Hyperidentified (V) Dimension 4				*

***No index available
**Bold type correlations are the internal average gamma correlations for that one dimension, image pattern index.
*Only one indicator on index, no internal average index correlation.

Overall, this dimension shows strong differentiation. The liberal index for dimension four shows a sharp distinction between the liberal, the radical and the hyperidentified image patterns, dropping from an internal average correlation for the liberal index of .42 to a .16 correlation with the radical and a .13 correlation with the hyperidentified.

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The radical index for dimension four also stands out well as an independent measure from other patterns. This is especially true in its relationship with the liberal index, yielding a very low .16 correlation, and showing a fairly strong difference from the hyperidentified index with a correlation of .34. This last relationship bears some further work in order to make the indicators even more distinctive. Here again it appears that careful attention to the precision and use of language would produce an even greater differentiation. At the same time it should be emphasized that even when the language is made more definitely image pattern specific, some low degree of association can still be expected between image patterns, since I doubt that any symbolic universe is so precise as to absolutely reject all others. But not only would preciseness of language make indicators more image pattern specific, it could also be expected that the internal correlations within an index would be raised considerably. If this were to occur, then an index in a specific image pattern and dimension could be expected to very clearly indicate a respondent's preference and assure a more accurate measurement of one's cominant image pattern. Consequently, two means of determining the "fit" of an indicator stand out--(1) its differentiation from indicators on another image pattern, and (2) its close association with specific indicators on a given image pattern and a given dimension.

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Dimension five--source of the racial problem

This dimension focuses on the source of the racial problem in this country, with emphasis placed on who and what is involved, and with some concern with what might be done about it. The results of this dimension's image pattern interrelationships is illustrated in Table 4.9.

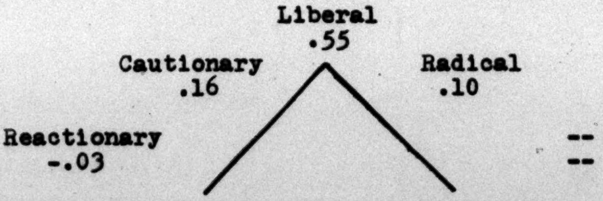
TABLE 4.9

COMPARISONS OF THE AVERAGE GAMMA CORRELATIONS FOR DIMENSION FIVE--SOURCE OF THE PROBLEM--INDEXES ON IMAGE PATTERNS II, III, IV AND V.

	Cautionary (II) Dimension 5	Liberal (III) Dimension 5	Radical (IV) Dimension 5	Hyperidentified (V) Dimension 5
Cautionary (II) Dimension 5	**.50	.27	-.04	***
Liberal (III) Dimension 5		.55	.10	***
Radical (IV) Dimension 5			.44	***
Hyperidentified (V) Dimension 5				***

***No index available
**Bold type correlations are the internal average gamma correlations for that one dimension, image pattern index.

If it were not for the non-existence of one index for the hyperidentified, this might well have been the strongest validation of the hypothesis concerning image pattern differentiation over any of the other dimensions. As it stands, it lends valuable support that an image pattern index can perform a sort of "watershed" function with reference to all other patterns. In Table 4.9, the liberal index for dimension five best illustrates this watershedding effect. To begin with it has a high internal correlational relationship, showing a sharpness of interrelated meaning. But even more interesting is the way it sheds the other image pattern indexes surrounding it. If we start with the liberal index standing squarely in the center of the patterns, we see a high peak towering above its nearest neighboring pattern. If we include its intercorrelation with the reactionary index for dimension five (added here only to show how an image pattern index can sort out different reality orientations), the result is the following pyramiding effect:



Though an index for the hyperidentified is not available, it is highly likely, given this watershedding effect, that it would have virtually no correlation with the liberal, if not a negative relationship.

The other two image patterns having indexes on this dimension are nearly as impressive. The cautionary index, having a high internal consistency of .50, then differentiates the liberal at .27 and the radical at -.04. Looking at the radical index, it does not have quite as high an internal consistency as the other two (.44), but it differentiates other patterns equally as well with a correlation of .10 with the liberal index and -.04 with the cautionary index. The result is that the interrelationship of image patterns on the last dimension to be considered reveals a very lucid differentiating among patterns and acts as an appropriate way to finish the analysis.

Further evidence showing image pattern differentiation

Having now concluded the presentation of the findings with reference to interrelationships of image patterns on specific dimensions, one other form of evidence lends further support to the already quite well substantiated theory that the ways in which whites orient themselves toward blacks is differentiated according to image pattern. Table 4.10 shows this evidence. (See the next page.)

TABLE 4.10

INTERCORRELATIONAL COMPARISON OF OPPOSING IMAGE PATTERN INDEXES

(A)
Image patterns
I and V

Dimension	I	V
1	.71	.06
2	.53	.13
3	.65	-.01
4	.57	-.03
5	.53	-.12

(B)
Image patterns
II and IV

Dimension	II	IV
1	.47	.09
2	.61	-.10
3	.41	.07
4	+	--
5	.50	-.04

(C)
Image pattern III compared with all
other image patterns, all dimensions

Dimension	I	II	III	IV	V
1	-.25	-.10	*	.09	.00
2	.27	.44	.33	.09	.14
3	.16	.27	*	.52	.20
4	.14	+	.42	.16	.13
5	-.03	.16	.55	.10	+

*Single item index; no correlation
+No index available

This table gives further evidence of the differentiation of image patterns. In the first two columns (A), the intercorrelations of image pattern one indexes and image pattern five indexes (reading horizontally) are shown for each dimension. In the second set of two columns (B), the intercorrelations of image pattern two indexes for each dimension are shown (reading horizontally) over-against the indexes for each identical dimension on image pattern four. In the third set of five columns (C), indexes for image pattern three are shown intercorrelated with all other image patterns on dimensions one, four, and five, (reading horizontally).

As a quick surveillance of the first set of columns (A) reveals, image patterns one and five show virtually no relationship whatsoever. This is to be expected, given the theoretical discussion in Chapter II and the evidence presented in this chapter with reference to image pattern differentiation. As was shown before, a high degree of internal consistency obtains in image pattern one and over-against that image pattern five shows a highly consistent resistence to indexes in pattern one. The same is shown for patterns two and four. On all those dimensions having indexes, the same sharp differentiation is maintained throughout. Again, this is evidence in support of the earlier stated hypothesis on image patterns.

Then in the third set of five columns (C), all five image patterns are shown. The reason for showing all five pattern interrelationships in this set concerns the rather unique position of image pattern three, namely, its location in the heart of all five image patterns and its role as a kind of pivot for the entire schema. As is evident, dimensions one, four, and five perform this role well, abruptly disassociating with surrounding image patterns. The correlations in dimensions two and three are obviously not of the same

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quality and are shown here to suggest again that as compared to indexes in dimensions one, four, and five of image pattern three, the indicators selected for inclusion in dimensions two and three are just not decisive enough. Compared to the other specific indexes in other image patterns and dimensions, further work is needed to give dimensions two and three a concommitant discriminating power.

Conclusion

The need for an extended conclusion for this chapter's discussion is precluded by the fact that conclusions and suggested directions for future work have been drawn at several strategic points throughout. Perhaps it is necessary only to recall the initial question that guided the inquiry in this chapter, and answer it. That question was, how well does the empirical data, gathered specifically for this phase of analysis, sustain the theoretical formulations of Chapter II? The answer can only be a "very well," with a few exceptions noted and discussed in their proper places.

It seems to be evident that even with the small size of the sample used for this study it has been possible to show how our understanding of the relationships between majority and minority--from the majority's view of the world--can be carried far beyond the work that social science has produced in the past. This study breaks the icy grip that has held the empirical and theoretical understanding of prejudice in the social sciences to a one dimensional, single patterned myopticism. This is not to argue that to understand is to lick the problem completely. But I for one do have a faith in the possibility that a clearer, more comprehensive, and rational delineation of the problem is a step in the right direction.

CHAPTER V

IMAGING AND MORAL JUDGMENT: A THEORETICAL CONNECTION

> Moral facts are phenomena like others; they consist of rules of action recognizable by certain distinctive characteristics.
> --Emile Durkheim
> The Division of Labor in Society

This study began with a broad based theoretical discussion setting forth a theory of the concept of image. From there the focus narrowed to consideration of the concept of image as applied to five different patterns of images of blacks held by whites. Then the analysis narrowed even further in Chapter IV, where we carefully analyzed a body of data gathered specifically for this study and found substantial support for the hypothesized image patterns spelled out in Chapter II.

But I do not wish to leave the matter there, for it is my valued conviction that another level of understanding can be related to images and image patterns that complements them and lends an important theoretical argument helping to explain when and why we might expect the images held by whites to become a significant basis for moral action. Imagery of blacks stands as a basis of one's specific "experience" of blacks, but something more is needed to bring that "experience" to bear on the external world in the form of moral action. As we will show in this chapter, that "something more" can be understood as the structure of one's morality as approached through the analysis of cognitive moral judgment. Moral action, while based on one's imagery, involves decisions, decisions that imagery alone cannot make. These decisions involve, in other words, appraisal of the rightness or wrongness, goodness or badness of the general social order. These are basic moral decisions, and it is the structure and process of moral decisions that this chapter will explore and relate to imagery.

As it unfolds, the chapter will have two parts. The first part discusses several possible reasons for why morality and moral concerns have often been excluded in social science's study of black/white relations, and then goes on to argue that inclusion of morality as an intrinsically valuable area of study is not only possible but important. The second part will then suggest one way in which morality can be studied and related to imagery of blacks.

An Eclipse of the Study of Morality in Relation to Black/White Relations

Why the eclipse has occurred

It does not take much perusal of the social science literature in the field of black/white relations to come to the realization that studies relating basic moral decisions and black/white interrelationships have been given at best sparse and sporadic attention. A major factor standing firmly in the path of directly confronting the intrinsic moral questions that might be brought to bear is constituted by an ideological presupposition in the social sciences themselves, an ideological presupposition based on what might be termed a problem of adolescent recalcitrance.

Sociology,[1] relatively speaking, is a fairly recent newcomer to the realm of science when it is compared to its elder brothers in the natural sciences. This has caused some identity confusion, because on the one hand mainstream sociology has taken as its "scientific" role model the natural sciences, particularly their method, and on the other hand sociology has not yet developed the capabilities of precision to be classified as a science, as it would like to be. If she is to become respected as a "science" then she has to develop a rigorousness in methodology and analysis to compete for the title, or at least give such an image. This means that its theories have to be increasingly precise, its methods increasingly "objective" and its analysis increasingly quantitative. In and of itself, one need not necessarily decry such a concern and development, at least to a certain point. However, the point to be made with relation to the study of "moral questions" and the social sciences grows directly out of this state of affairs, with a degree of subtlety that is often overlooked in the heat of such discussions. Given the relative "adolescence" of sociology (and other social sciences generally), the offspring is

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still having oedipal problems with the historical parent that gave it birth--philosophy directly, and more indirectly, theology. That is to say that if sociology is to make a clean break from its roots and establish its own identity, its own self-contained and self-controlled existence, then extra care is needed as to how (or whether or not) it talks with and relates to its parent.

This point is put precisely by Kenneth Benne, a psychologist writing in The Journal of Social Issues, but he states the issue for sociology as well. He urges,

> . . . that social scientists learn to collaborate with philosophers in factual and normative inquiries into normative issues and problems. I do not know how welcome such collaboration will appear to behavioral scientists. The emancipation of their disciplines, as sciences, from the control of philosophy is rather recent, historically speaking. Perhaps the anti-colonial feeling among psychologists and other behavioral scientists toward the motherland of philosophy is still intense.[2]

At a later point, he continues,

> The typical relationship is, I think, one of self-segregation on both sides. And, as in most cases of segregation, interactions tend to be guided by stereotyped views, one of the other, and marked by varying degrees of autistic hostility.[3]

The issue at stake? Whose concern really are the moral questions in this situation? Traditionally the field of philosophy has been the intellectual battlefield for questions of morality and decisions about morality. Even worse, theology, once called the "queen of the sciences," gets into the act as well. If philosophy--and theology--are the enemy, how then can sociology and the social sciences afford the

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luxury of common sides on the same battlefields? Morality and moral decision making have left a bad taste in the mouth of social science as being too subjective, too abstract, and outside the realm of scientific study.

That there is, and has been, a great deal of confusion on this issue I think is obvious. The argument put forth here is that because sociology and social sciences in general have focused so much energy on creating a "science" of society and proving that such a creature is capable of being created, a kind of "primitive" de-differentiation of logic and argument has occurred. In the confusion such a radical concern with shunning the philosophical and moral questions and emphasizing the empirical and "objective" has created a situation in mainstream sociology in which one should not raise the question of values, of the moral. Robert Merton once observed that ". . . the unsophisticated scientist, forgetting that skepticism is primarily a methodological concern, permits his skepticism to spill over into the area of value generally."[4] Thus, anything having any relationship to "morality" in its concern has been lumped together into one whole and rejected for consideration by too many in the social science fraternity. The result of this confusion has been that social scientists who take the "scientific" motif as their absolute have been forced to make the moral questions wait outside the door while the "more serious" work was being done, only to be allowed a peek in after the fact.[5]

An illustration of the point being made will clarify my intent. In a chapter at the close of their book entitled, "Reflections and Applications for Social Action," Bruno Bettleheim and Morris Janowitz give a slight nod to the moral question with reference to anti-Semitism.

> An approach such as that of this study has its limitations and leaves certain areas untouched which as yet cannot be fully investigated by means of the scientific methods (such as statistical analysis) that were applied throughout the study. This chapter attempts to round out the report through further *speculation* based on the data collected in the study.[6] [Emphasis added]

I simply make two comments now that will be picked up later. The questions of morality, or decisions about "what action might come out of this," are (1) not considered at all as a possible *intrinsic* area of study with reference to the issue of anti-Semitism which these authors took under consideration, and are therefore (2) relegated to an "Oh yes, I forgot to mention. . ." status of speculation after the fact and extrinsically to the central theory and analysis.

That the moral issue has been raised at all by these authors is, no doubt, to be given due credit. But when the moral issue has been raised in studies related to majority/minority interaction, it has most often been (1) somehow delayed until all other "scientific" work was completed, (2) conspicuously avoided altogether, leaving the question only to lie in the hazy swamps of those long forgotten presuppositions that clandestinely protruded themselves into the very early decisions about why we should study this

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problem at all, or (3) as appears quite often, the moral issues will be included in an ideological foray circumscribed by a pontificatory tenor. This third approach to the moral questions involved comes through clearly in this quotation from Lewis Killian.

> The United States is engaged in a dangerous race against time. It is a race against the day that the majority of Negroes decide that the future must be better than the present that white America offers them. . . . The warning of De Tocqueville, voiced over a century ago, remains both timely and ominous: "If ever the free institutions of America are destroyed, that event may be attributed to the unlimited authority of the majority, which may at some future time urge the minorities to desperation, and oblige them to have recourse to physical force. Anarchy will then be the result, but it will have been brought about by despotism."[7]

(4) One final approach, appearing at other times and in other studies, is the not uncommon "salt and pepper" routine. This approach scatters throughout a book suggestions about actions that will occur and decisions that will have to be made concerning the moral issue of majority/minority relations. One format takes the form of predictions about the future, as is the case with Thomas Pettigrew's A Profile of the Negro American (1964):

> (a) Negro protests will continue to grow both in intensity and in depth;
> (b) the protests will increasingly attract a a larger proportion of lower-income Negroes and shift from status to economic goals;
> (c) a more extensive use of local and national boycotts of consumer products will be made;

[after which he writes as if to warn his readers of their moral responsibility.]

> (d) as the revolution proceeds through the coming

> years, some basic structural changes in American society will have to occur before viable race-relations solutions are possible.[8]

Perhaps all of the above mentioned approaches to the moral decisions that have to be made are important and have an important freight to carry. But having said that, I would hasten to add the following problems that arise from such approaches. (1) The first problem is that in nearly all of the cases where authors propose and carry out research and analysis of one sort or another in the area of majority/minority relations, they portend a problem future fraught with moral questions, and then proceed to give their solutions to the problem. Somehow something is missing in this, for they tacitly assume all along that reading or hearing is believing, that believing is somehow acting, and that acting leads to the correction of the problem. That is just not good enough. (2) The second major concern I have with the above approaches is more basic to social science research itself in the area of majority/minority relations and the way in which nearly all studies are framed. The accepted approach to the study of majority/minority relations is to always deal with the moral questions and related moral decisions as though they were *extrinsic*, *epiphenomenal* considerations better left outside the research kingdom. Furthermore, studies in the field of majority/minority relations have usually been theoretically conceived in such a way as to frame the study question in the negative--the study of *anti*-Negro prejudice, the study of *anti*-Semitism.

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As we have amply shown in earlier chapters, we have attempted to overcome this latter shortcoming, and are now about to attempt a step in the direction of overcoming the other problems noted.

What then is the argument I am trying to make, with which I want to work, and that I am suggesting as an alternative approach to the moral question?

A suggested approach to a different perspective to the study of morality in majority/minority relations

This quotation from Glock and Stark's Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism will guide our attempt to focus the nature of the problems noted above and will help frame a different approach to the study of morality to be taken in this work. Glock and Stark write:

> Let it be clear at the start that the decision about what will be called anti-Semitism is, in the first instance, a matter of ethics and morality. There is no reason intrinsic to social science, as such, that Jews should not be hated and persecuted. The techniques of scholarship could as well be brought to bear on questions of how to stir up bigotry as how to extinguish such acts and sentiments. . . .
> These limits to social science per se are no basis for condemnation. As men, social scientists must take moral responsibility for their work, and are also entirely free to search for ethical solutions to man's countless dilemmas.[9]

In one sense, they are quite right, for the social scientist who is attempting to articulate the "facts of the situation" is not at the same time propounding a particularistic ideology of his own--at least not on the surface. But their disclaimer raises immediately two dilemmas of its

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own occurring from their position. First, when they say that anti-Semitism is a matter, in the first instance, of ethics and morality, immediately one must ask whose ethics and morality? And if the answer is the ethics and morality of those being studied, I will respond by asking why not study these ethics and morality as they relate directly to the dilemma of anti-Semitism?

The second, and related, problem raised by taking their position is that, by fiat, they have, whether intentionally or not, come to the conclusion that morality is, for the social scientist, extrinsic to his study. And this means, in turn, that all concerns about moral action and how and why that moral action occurs on the part of anyone will have to wait until the social scientist divests himself of the social scientific mantle and dons the mantle of ordinary, committed human being. This fragmentation of moral commitment, moral decisions, and moral action out of the realm of social science is troublesome. By setting morality outside the scientific study of a problem, we have somehow distorted social reality and taken out what potentially could be a most real and significant factor related to what makes people act, and act when they do.

Surprisingly enough, this very concern is spoken to, but not dealt with, by two authors working with the same body of data and on the same social problem that Glock and Stark were when they made the above statement. Gertrude Selznick and Stephen Steinberg, while giving their explanations for the "tenacity" of anti-Semitism in their book The Tenacity of Prejudice, venture this intuitive insight to the problem:

> Far more significant is the implicit relation between lack of education and lack of moral sensibility. [Emphasis added]. On certain issues where their economic self interests are involved, as in the case of social welfare measures, the uneducated are more likely than the educated to favor liberal and progressive policy. But . . . the uneducated do not generally exhibit compassion for the underdog or sympathic understanding of the plight of others. On the contrary, their lack of cognitive sophistication leads them to accept beliefs whose implications are anti-humanitarian, blaming, and socially devisive.[10]

This is an intriguing point, for if we are to believe these authors, the problem of anti-Semitism is in part at least a moral problem. More specifically and to the point, it is a moral problem intrinsic to the study of majority/minority relations. Unfortunately, they drop the analysis at this point and we are left in the dark as to how moral sensibility comes to be crucial in the matter.

At this point the concern of this chapter has become more focused. It will be the purpose of the remainder of this chapter and the next to explore the intrinsic value of studying morality as a part of a fundamental understanding of majority/minority relations, specifically referring to black/white encounters.[11] The next section of this chapter will set forth a theoretical approach to be used in the study of morality for this study, and the sixth chapter will present a small amount of data available from our own research to suggest how morality relates to the images whites hold of blacks.

To anticipate ourselves briefly, the basic argument to be explored follows the suggestion of Selznick and Steinberg--that morality is important in understanding people's actions in relation to minorities. The way in which a person organizes and acts upon his images of blacks is related to the way in which he makes moral judgments about social reality. This is to imply that the way in which one uses his images and the degree to which one acts upon the images is related to the way in which he appraises the moral dimensions inherent in the concrete social process.

One Approach to the Study of Moral Action

> It is not a theory but an image, an image that we grasp as at least one face of "reality". . . . [but] We are not able to operate as cognitive beings unless we have some point of conceptual reference.
>
> --Robert W. Friedrichs
> A Sociology of Sociology

In order to explore the ramifications of the ideas at the end of the first part it is necessary that some means of analytically understanding morality be available and helpful for explaining why whites act the way they do with blacks. As preparation for this we have already discussed a schema for studying various meanings blacks have for whites--the way in which blacks are "lived" by whites. What is needed now is some means of determining how that "lived" reality is organized and made available for social action in the community.

The quote from Friedrichs at the heading of this part forms the cradle in which this exploration will be framed. On the one hand, images are the means by which at least one face of reality is grasped (e.g. blacks). On the other hand, in order to act in the community on these images, interpretation of and response to the larger social matrix is a crucial factor. In other words, one has to have some structural, cognitive framework through which images are instrumentally mobilized for action that expresses overtly the grasp of reality one has. It is the contention of this study that one important way that expressive images are activated externally is through the process of decisions and judgments made about the moral contours of the social fabric. This process of judging is a major part of what Selznick and Steinberg call "moral sensibility."

The means by which moral sensibility is to be studied herein is through a measure of moral judgment developed by Lawrence Kohlberg at Harvard University. This measurement is called the Moral Judgment Scale and consists of a series of moral dilemma stories that are presented to a person, his responses are then recorded, and an analysis is made of his responses to discover how he makes moral decisions that determine when and why he will act in the social world. What follows is a presentation of the theory underlying Kohlberg's work.

The basic Kohlberg theory

Lawrence Kohlberg's work in the area of morality lies

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in the mainstream of a cognitive, developmental theory of morality and moral development, as opposed to a more psychoanalytic study of the functioning of the superego strength, or a study of moral character as an attempt to describe basic moral knowledge, content, and awareness (i.e. learned character traits such as honesty or resistance to temptation). He writes:

> The significance of studying moral judgment over either moral character, or emotional elements of morality (superego, etc.) is that it allows for, and takes into consideration, the situational factors more than trying to locate fixed habits (as strongly internalized cultural standards), character traits such as honesty (resistance to temptation), or permanent superego dispositions to feel guilt.[12]

Approaching morality through the media of moral judgments puts emphasis on the cognitive structure involved in making the decision to act or not act as based on rational consideration of how one's action affects others and one's self.[13] This approach stresses the "rational" characteristics of morality in that it is action based on practical judgments. Neither I, nor Kohlberg, would argue that this approach accounts for all matters of acting, for indeed some bases for action are based on "irrational," partially masked, non-practical bases. In discussing the complementarity of approaching moral action through a cognitive schema and a psychoanalytic schema (specifically the F Scale) Kohlberg agrees that "It seems likely that both interpretations have merit, but we are not yet able to offer a view of personal moral ideology which combines personality type and developmental

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considerations into a single framework."[14]

I have chosen to use Kohlberg's cognitive schema because of its unusual complementarity to understanding the relationship of *imaging* and *acting based upon images held*. As will be seen, an understanding of moral action as rational decision making helps make our theory of images more comprehensive and more closely related to everyday action in the surrounding social environment. This cognitive approach is especially helpful since we understand images as coming together to form *patterns* that are cohesive, that form a basic "plot" by which reality is perceived, but which quite often have primarily a tacit relationship to conscious reality and therefore are not always rationally structured and action-ready. The *function images do perform*, however, is to act as a guide or plotting mechanism once action is activated. Thus, by understanding how decisions to act are made, we will be able to formulate a more complete theory of the place and function of images. But let's return to Kohlberg.

What does Kohlberg mean by *morality* and *moral judgments*? We are given a clue to the meaning of "moral" by his comment that moral judgments are judgments about the good and the right action. But philosophers have not agreed on any ultimate principles of good defining "correct" moral judgments, and certainly not all judgments of "good" and "right" are moral judgments. Many judgments of the good and right are judgments of the esthetic, the technological, or the prudent.

To judge on the basis of "I don't like him because he doesn't look nice," or "Cadillacs are good because they are expensive," is not to make a moral judgment. The latter, for example, is an economic or esthetic judgment and to judge accordingly is not to be prepared to say that everyone should have Cadillacs, that everyone should feel they are good, that they are good in terms of some impersonal ideal standard shared by everyone.

What, then, are the characteristics that bring a judgment closer to being a genuine moral judgment? As we are using the term "moral" here, moral judgments, unlike judgments of prudence and esthetics, ". . . tend to be universal, inclusive, consistent, and to be grounded on objective, impersonal, or ideal grounds. . . . If we say that an act is 'morally right,' we are also prepared to assert these implications of our judgment of good and right."[15]

By understanding moral judgment in this way, we can define a moral decision as moral without being bound to a particularistic moral content (i.e. to the specific issue being judged), and thereby avoid being caught up in a moralistic paradox of considering whether the moral judgment agrees or disagrees with one's own judgments or standards. In other words, we are dealing with a general moral stance that is absolutely crucial in making decisions about specific issues, in specific time and cultural bound social contexts. We are dealing with a moral structure that helps determine when one will act and on the basis of what general authority.

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Thus, given this general cognitive moral structure by which one orders his social world, not with reference to specific contours but with reference to general patterns of how people ought to relate and act, this general structuring of the world acts as an organizing structure for the images one holds with reference to a specific social issue such as black/white relations. In this way, images and cognitive structures of moral discernment complement each other.

A clue to understanding this complementary relationship between images and moral judgment, and a statement that ties this cognitive view of moral discernment to our earlier discussion of the concept of images is this comment by Kohlberg.

> [A person's] . . . whole social life is based on "*empathy*," i.e. on the awareness of other selves with thoughts and feelings like [or unlike] the self. . . . *Empathy* does not have to be taught to the child or conditioned; it *is a primary phenomenon*. What cognitive moral development and socialization achieve is the *organization of empathic phenomena into consistent . . . moral concerns*, not the creation of empathy as such.[16] [Emphasis added.]

This statement relates directly to the theory of images discussed in Chapter I. To recall, in Chapter I we argued that by means of images held by an individual and the patterning or grouping of those images, one is able to "empathize" with the other. It is his means of being part of the other. Specifically, we noted that ". . . (imaging as a means of 'making the other our own') forms a bond between subject and object that creates what we might call 'empathy.'" This is

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very similar to what Kohlberg is saying, with one exception. I would want to expand Kohlberg's understanding of empathy and understand empathy, per se, as being capable of containing sympathy, apathy, and antipathy. In other words, as we have understood imaging as empathy, the form can take more than just a sympathetic turn (as is evidenced in our descriptions of the differing image patterns in Chapter II). Therefore, I would add to Kohlberg's statement--as I have in brackets--the words "or unlike" the self. But from there, the statement fits nicely.

Our earlier discussion has understood images as being primary, expressive phenomena, and we have stated the argument on images in such a way as to be able now to add that images, being primary, in order to be effective in guiding action in the world are usually organized by some cognitive, rational structure of judgment. This, we have seen, is what the moral judgment theory can help do. In other words, each of the image patterns developed in Chapter II have a certain content and meaning of their own. Images such as these lie in part beneath, in part within, the cognitive rational structure, available to be used to give direction to action. But they will usually lack, on their own, sufficient capability of releasing action. Images are the "plot" of action, the content of action, the way in which one's actions will look when action is carried out. But what the cognitive structures of moral judgment do is determine in what situations such action can be carried out, in what situations one ought to act and why.

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We need more information about the moral judgment theory however to be able to fully carry out the implication of this argument. We turn now to discuss more concretely the differentiated aspects and stages of moral judgment as suggested by Kohlberg.

Stages and sequences of moral judgment

Kohlberg's research has shown that moral judgment, as defined above, contains six differentiated stages and is developmental in nature. The basic premise is that there are six stages of moral judgment that are distinct and differentiated and that each of these stages represents a different way of structuring one's world morally.

> Stage notions are essentially ideal-typical constructs designed to represent different psychological organizations at varying points in development. The stage doctrine hypothesizes that these qualitatively different types of organization are sequential, and hence that the individual's developmental status is predictable or cumulative in the sense of continuity of position on an ordinal scale.[17]

The implications of this are that in the process of development all people follow a similar sequence of moral development, from stage one, through two, three, four, five and six, depending of course on how far development along the sequence progresses, because the norm for stage development is stage four, with overlap into stages three and/or five.[18]

It is necessary now for a clearer understanding of the stage/sequence idea to note the six stages and their underlying content and logic. Table 5.1 gives an outline of each stage in its expected sequence.

TABLE 5.1[19]

CLASSIFICATION OF MORAL JUDGMENT INTO LEVELS AND STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT

Levels	Basis of moral judgment	Stages of development
I	Premoral: Moral value resides in external, quasi-physical happenings in bad acts, or in quasi-physical needs rather than in persons and standards.	Stage 1: Obedience and punishment orientation. Egocentric deference to superior power or prestige, or a trouble-avoiding set. Objective responsibility.
		Stage 2: Instrumental Relativists (IR). Naively egoistic orientation. Right action is that instrumentally satisfying the self's needs and occasionally others'. Awareness of relativism of value to each actor's needs and perspective. Naive egalitarianism and orientation to exchange and reciprocity.
II	Conventional: Moral value resides in performing good or right roles, in maintaining the conventional order and the expectancies of others.	Stage 3: Personal Concordance (PC). Goodboy orientation. Orientation to approval and to pleasing and helping others. Conformity to stereotypical images of majority or natural role behavior, and judgment by intentions.
		Stage 4: Law and Order (LO). Authority and social-order maintaining orientation. Orientation to "doing duty" and to showing respect for authority and maintaining the given social order for its own sake. Regard for earned expectations of others.

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TABLE 5.1--Continued

Levels	Basis of moral judgment	Stages of development
III	Principled: Moral value resides in conformity by the self to shared or shareable standards, rights, or duties.	Stage 5: Social Contract (SC) Contractual legalistic orientation. Recognition of an arbitrary element or starting point in rules or expectations for the sake of agreement. Duty defined in terms of contract, general avoidance of violations of the will or rights of others, and majority will and welfare. Stage 6: Individual Principles (IP). Conscience or principle orientation. Orientation not only to actually ordained social rules but to principles of choice involving appeal to logical universality and consistency. Orientation to conscience as a directing agent and to mutual respect and trust.

The logic of this table is based on the principle that moral judgment changes in cognitive form with social and psychological development, and that definite stages can thus be located. These stages were gradually defined over a period of time on the basis of free responses to a number of hypothetical moral dilemmas given to subjects in an interview.[20]

In addition, twenty-five different "aspects" were selected as a basis for defining these six stages. The aspects that Kohlberg has found to be cognitive and universal in nature are given in Table 5.2 on the following page.[21]

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TABLE 5.2

CODED ASPECTS OF DEVELOPING MORAL JUDGMENT

Code	Description	Aspects
I. Value	Locus of value--modes of attributing (moral) value to acts, persons or events. Modes of assessing value consequences in a situation.	1. Considering motives in judging action.
		2. Considering consequences in judging action.
		3. Subjectivity vs. objectivity of values assessed.
		4. Relation of obligation to wish.
		5. Identification with actor or victims in judging the action.
		6. Status of actor and victim as changing the moral worth of actions.
II. Choice	Mechanisms of resolving or denying awareness of conflicts.	7. Limiting actor's responsibility for consequences by shifting responsibility onto others.
		8. Reliance on discussion and compromise, mainly unrealistically.
		9. Distorting situation so that conforming behavior is seen as always maximizing the interests of the actor or of others involved.
III. Sanctions and Motives	The dominant motives and sanctions for moral or deviant action.	10. Punishment or negative reactions.
		11. Disruption of an interpersonal relationship.
		12. A concern by actor for welfare, for positive state of the other.
		13. Self-condemnation.
IV. Rules	The ways in which rules are conceptualized, applied, and generalized. The basis of the validity of a rule.	14. Definition of an act as deviant. (Definition of moral rules and norms.)
		15. Generality and consistency of rules.
		16. Waiving rules for personal relations (particularism).

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TABLE 5.2--Continued

Code	Description	Aspects
V. Rights and Authority.	Basis and limits of control over persons and property.	17. Non-motivational attributes ascribed to authority (knowledge, etc.). (Motivational attributes considered under III above.) 18. Extent or scope of authority's rights. Rights of liberty. 19. Rights of possession or property.
VI. Positive Justice	Reciprocity and equality.	20. Exchange and reciprocity as a motive for role conformity. 21. Reciprocity as a motive to deviate (e.g., revenge). 22. Distributive justice. Equality and impartiality. 23. Concepts of maintaining partner's expectations as a motive for conformity. Contract and trust.
VII. Punitive Justice	Standards and functions of punishment.	24. Punitive tendencies or expectations. (a) Notions of equating punishment and crime. 25. Functions or purpose of punishment.

These aspects represent basic moral concepts believed to be present in any society. Each is differently defined and used at each of the six stages. Definitions or usage of aspects at each stage can logically be claimed to represent a differentiation and integration of the aspect as it is used at the preceding stage.

To clarify both the logic of the stage definitions and the way in which aspects are analyzed, two of the aspects will now be taken through each of its distinct cognitive-formal elements for each stage. The "aspects" to be used as examples are Aspects 10 and 13 (see Table 5.2, p. 192, under Code III "Sanctions and Motives"). Table 5.3 presents the definition of moral motives characteristic of each stage and includes standardized pro and con arguments for each stage definition.[22] Careful consideration will show that each higher stage involves a differentiation not present at a preceding stage.

TABLE 5.3

MOTIVES FOR ENGAGING IN MORAL ACTION
(ASPECTS 10 AND 13)

Stage 1. Action is motivated by avoidance of punishment and "conscience" is irrational fear of punishment.
Pro--If you let your wife die, you will get in trouble. You'll be blamed for not spending the money to save her and there'll be an investigation of you and the druggist for your wife's death.
Con--You shouldn't steal the drug because you'll be caught and sent to jail if you do. If you do get away, your conscience would bother you thinking how the police would catch up with you at any minute.

Stage 2. Action motivated by desire for reward or benefit. Possible guilt reactions are ignored and punishment viewed in a pragmatic manner. (Differentiates own fear, pleasure, or pain from punishment-consequences.)
Pro--If you do happen to get caught you could give the drug back and you wouldn't get much of a sentence. It wouldn't bother you much to serve a little jail term, if you have your wife when you get out.
Con--He may not get much of a jail term if he steals the drug, but his wife will probably die before he gets out so it won't do him much good. If his wife dies, he shouldn't blame himself, it wasn't his fault she has cancer.

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TABLE 5.3--Continued

Stage 3. Action motivated by anticipation of disapproval of others, actual or imagined-hypothetical (e.g., guilt). (Differentiation of disapproval from punishment, fear, and pain.)

Pro--No one will think you're bad if you steal the drug but your family will think you're an inhuman husband if you don't. If you let your wife die, you'll never be able to look anybody in the face again.

Con--It isn't just the druggist who will think you're a criminal, everyone else will too. After you steal it, you'll feel bad thinking how you've brought dishonor on your family and yourself; you won't be able to face anyone again.

Stage 4. Action motivated by anticipation of dishonor, i.e., institutionalized blame for failure of duty, and by guilt over concrete harm done to others. (Differentiates formal dishonor from informal disapproval. Differentiates guilt for bad consequences from disapproval.)

Pro--If you have any sense of honor, you won't let your wife die because you're afraid to do the only thing that will save her. You'll always feel guilty that you caused her death if you don't do your duty to her.

Con--You're desperate and you may not know you're doing wrong when you steal the drug. But you'll know you did wrong after you're punished and sent to jail. You'll always feel guilty for your dishonesty and lawbreaking.

Stage 5. Concern about maintaining respect of equals and of the community (assuming their respect is based on reason rather than emotions). Concern about own self-respect, i.e., to avoid judging self as irrational, inconsistent, nonpurposive. (Discriminates between institutionalized blame and community disrespect or self-disrespect.)

Pro--You'd lose other people's respect, not gain it, if you don't steal. If you let your wife die, it would be out of fear, not out of reasoning it out. So you'd just lose self-respect and probably the respect of others too.

Con--You would lose your standing and respect in the community and violate the law. You'd lose respect for yourself if you're carried away by emotion and forget the long-range point of view.

TABLE 5.3--Continued

Stage 6. Concern about self-condemnation for violating one's own principles. (Differentiates between community respect and self-respect. Differentiates between self-respect for general achieving rationality and self-respect for maintaining moral principles.)

Pro--If you don't steal the drug and let your wife die, you'd always condemn yourself for it afterward. You wouldn't be blamed and you would have lived up to the outside rule of the law but you wouldn't have lived up to your own standards of conscience.

Con--If you stole the drug, you wouldn't be blamed by other people but you'd condemn yourself because you wouldn't have lived up to your own conscience and standards of honesty.

To draw to a close and summarize this discussion of stages and sequences in moral development, I draw on a lengthy quotation from Kohlberg himself.

> . . . we have advocated the developmental interpretation that *these types of thought* [the stages] *represent structures emerging from the interaction of the* . . . [individual] *with his social environment*, rather than directly reflecting external structures given by the . . . culture. Awareness of the basic prohibitions and commands of the culture, as well as some behavioral "internalization" of them, exists from the first of our stages and does not define their succession. *Movement from stage to stage represents rather the way these prohibitions, as well as much wider aspects of the social structure, are taken up into the* . . . [individual's] *organization of a moral order*. This order may be based upon power and external compulsion (Stage 1), upon a system of exchanges and need satisfactions (Stage 2), upon the maintenance of legitimate expectations (Stages 3 and 4), or upon ideals or general logical principles of social organization (Stages 5 and 6). While these successive bases of a moral order do spring from the . . . awareness of the external world, *they also represent active processes of organizing or ordering this world*.[23] [Emphasis added.]

Conclusion

Morality, as understood here through the understanding of moral judgment, involves the way in which human relationships and the moral order of things are conceived and considered as a basis for deciding when and how one should act in relation to another. Morality, then, is not considered to be simply a matter of the social learning and internalization of cultural values and norms. Such a view of social learning fails to take into account the qualitative transformations that take place in the way in which the social environment is conceived as moral development proceeds. The point to be emphasized for the moment, then, is that there is a great deal of difference between understanding morality as awareness and acceptance of cultural (and subcultural) moral standards (the "moral knowledge" or "moral content" approach to morality) and understanding morality as a cognitive, rational process of moral thought and discernment (the "moral judgment" approach to morality).

If we take the approach that morality is moral awareness of cultural (and subcultural) values and norms, certainly we could expect to find out something about a person's specific, particularistic "ideal" views of what society ought to be. But by so doing, we would have done little more than get a descriptive, ethnographic picture of what his general values are. We would be told little about what he would actually do given a specific situation, for we have no indication of how his "ideal" would be acted upon, or if it would be at all.

Studies of moral character, resistance to temptation, and conscience strength have usually defined and measured morality in terms of such a "conformity to an external standard" point of view, the standard of the culture and/or subculture. If, however, we take a moral judgment approach to understanding morality, we transcend being bound in our explanation of moral action to any one particularistic moral awareness. We transcend being dependent upon simple verbalizations of one's values and attitudes for making predictions of how and when one will act. And this goes a long way in helping to explain why it is that attitude measurements, as so often used in the study of black/white relations, have been found wanting in predicting and closing the chasm between "saying one thing and doing another." Discrepancies between moral conduct and moral verbalizations are often taken as indicating that moral verbalizations are statements made to "put up a front." This may very well not be the case at all, for to stay on the level of moral awareness and verbalization ("knowing what to say") is to ignore the more crucial area of how judgments are made about whether or not one can act on those moral verbalizations. Moral judgment is made on the basis of the "conditions of the social context," which makes all the difference in the world as to whether one can put his specific value verbalizations into action at a specific time.

With this general theoretical statement about the significance of studying the complementarity of morality and imagery of blacks, we can now turn in Chapter VI to some concrete evidence and perhaps draw several more specific conclusions.

CHAPTER VI

IMAGING OF BLACKS AND MORAL JUDGMENT: SOME EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

Because of my own interest in the problem of moral action in relationship to images held, and because I was not at all sure at the outset of this study that the image patterns as described and tested could in and of themselves suffice as a determinant of action, it became important for me, and to the study as conceived, to include the moral judgment research in this study. As I wrote in my initial prospectus:

> In attempting to understand the problem here--the place of moral judgment in black/white relations--I am not so much concerned with a polemic about the "goodness or badness" of such relationships from an external, particularistic frame of reference, per se, but rather I am concerned with the question of the intrinsic value of morality--the way in which people make decisions about their social environment and the moral order, and the way in which this may relate to certain types of imaging of blacks by whites.

In other words, how does the way one appraises moral questions through the process of moral judgment relate to different patterns of imaging? Will the two, interpreted together, give us some significant evidence about how, when, and why someone might behave? In this chapter we will discuss two hypotheses related to these questions and will show related empirical findings for both.

Hypothesis One

The interrelationship between image patterns and moral judgment stages

The primary hypothesis to be considered concerns the question of how the five image patterns developed in Chapter II correspond with the six stages of moral judgment spelled out in Chapter V. The hypothesis set down at the outset of this study was,

> (1) Some correspondence between stage of moral decision making and type of image pattern can be expected. (2) Overall, however, there are few inherent connections between the Kohlberg theory and measurement and the May theory and measurement to give cause for believing that a direct one-to-one correspondence is necessary or will occur, since the two measures are tapping two different levels of human response to the social world.

Now let's look at the rationale for this hypothesis. With reference to point one, the following reasoning stands out. A major theoretical peg in the framework of Kohlberg's theory has to do with the importance, quality of, and degree to which an individual has had varying social experience and social interactions. At the close of our section on stages and sequences in the last chapter Kohlberg was quoted as saying,

> . . . these types of thought [the stages] represent structures emerging from the interaction of the . . . [individual] with his social environment, rather than directly reflecting external structures given by . . . the culture.

[At a later point in the same essay he adds this point.]

> It is often thought that the . . . [individual] gets some of his basic moral values from his family, some from the peer group, and others from his social

> class group, and that these basic values tend to conflict with one another. Instead of participation in various groups causing conflicting developmental trends in morality, it appears that *participation in various groups converges in stimulating the development of basic moral values*, which are not transmitted by one particular group as opposed to another. . . . While various people and groups make conflicting *immediate demands* upon the . . . [individual], they do not seem to present . . . basically conflicting or different stimulation for *general moral* development. [Kohlberg holds then to]. . . the general belief that *the more the social stimulation, the faster the rate of moral development*.[1]

Thus, a "wider world of experience" creates a broader and more mature moral sensitivity by creating an ability for more complex and differentiated cognitive moral thinking. And concommitantly, one could hypothesize that the same basic theoretical argument would hold for creating a more differentiated and more open orientation toward blacks, thus changing one's modal images to a new and different patterning.

But there is an equally strong reason why a "wider world of experience" may *not* necessarily change or develop a newly patterned orientation with blacks. The distinction is predicated on the *different level of functioning being tapped by the two measurements*--namely, the *general level* and the *specific level*. In the Kohlberg theory concern is with tapping the general and structural levels of a *cognitive process*. In the May theory concern is with tapping the specific and content or substance level of a more tacit, *empathic*, "*lived*" *relationship* with a specific group of people. These are two different levels of being in the world and even if they do show signs of having corresponding relationships, we cannot argue that we are measuring one and the same thing. This would mean, then, that although Kohlberg can argue that the more the social stimulation, the faster the rate of moral development on the general level of cognitive moral thinking, the same argument will not always hold true on the specific level for this reason. In order for one's image orientation to develop and change according to our theoretical schema, the "more social stimulation" leading to a faster "rate of development" would have to involve specific social interaction with blacks in one form or another, be it through personal contact, the electronic media, all three and/or others. That specific level of interaction is not directly and explicitly indicated by Kohlberg's theory, and is not essential to his theory. It would be to the May theory.

Now, since our concern, then, is with moral decisions that help in determining action or inaction in a social context, it becomes clear why both measurements are important. We have said already that we do not think that by simply tapping the image patterns or empathic involvement people have with others through imaging that we can determine when and why one will act on those images.

Two illustrative examples

One illustration of how the two levels might be related is given in the Stanley Milgram[2] obedience experiment. In this experiment the experimenter orders the subject to give an increasingly severe electric shock to a stooge "learner" who has agreed to participate in a nonsense-syllable learning experiment. Relating this to the Kohlberg theory, only the Individual Principled (Stage 6) subjects would be expected to question the authority's moral right to ask them to inflict pain on another. Social Contract subjects (Stage 5) would tend to feel that the victim's voluntary participation with foreknowledge of what was to take place would release them from responsibility to the victim, while the Social Contract subject's agreement to participate in the experiment would commit him to comply with the experimenter (the authority). In a follow-up study done by Kohlberg, it was found that as expected, 75% of the small number of Individual Principled subjects who participated quit, compared to only 13% of the remaining subjects coming at lower moral stages. At the same time, however, the same subjects who participated in the Milgram experiment were given a projective measure of sympathy test and the result was that high-empathy subjects were no more likely to quit than low-empathy subjects. This gives some solid evidence to the argument that "images" alone (as a form of empathy) cannot be expected to be sufficient for predicting moral action.

However, an interesting additional factor does arise. Kohlberg notes that,

> Some tentative findings suggest that amount of empathy was influential in the Conventional level subjects' decisions, though not in the [Individual Principled] principled's subject's decision.

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> [He adds that] Indeed the Stage 5 subjects were the most prone to say they wanted to quit but did not, i.e., they were restrained by contractual principles in spite of their empathic feelings. . . . when empathy leads to strong "temptation" to violate the rules and authority of the experimenter, conventional [Stage 3 and 4] subjects will quit.[3]

Another illustrative study conducted by Haan, Smith, and Block[4] shows in some preliminary findings similar results to support our argument. This study was conducted among University of California, Berkeley students who did and did not participate in the original free-speech sit-in in 1964. In their study, these authors found that 80% of the Individual Principles (Stage 6) subjects sat in, compared with 10% of the Personal Concordance and Law and Order subjects (Stages 3 and 4) and 50% of the Social Contract (Stage 5) subjects. In this case Individual Principled subjects chose to disobey authorities in the name of individual rights as before, but without concern for individual rights involving empathy for a concrete victim.

In other words, these two examples give evidence that a sufficient cause for action is not present by knowing one's degree of empathy alone. A range of responses occurred, some having high empathy for the other, but going ahead and acting to "harm" him anyway; some having high empathy and deciding to stop "harming" the other; and in the final situation, action to change things in the absence of any significant degree of empathy for a victim.

If we take the concept of empathy as dicussed in Chapter I, and apply it to the idea set forth in the above illustrations, we can say with some degree of assurance that both empathy and level of moral judgment would be important in attempting to gain knowledge about (1) when and why people will choose to act, and (2) the direction that action will take. (cf. Chapter I, pp. 33-34).

Relating these findings to image patterning

Now, if the interpretation of the concept of "empathy" as set forth in Chapter I is related to what Kohlberg means when he talks about "high empathy," it would appear that there are two high empathy positions in the image patterns described in Chapter II--one strongly empathic in a positive direction, one strongly empathic in a negative direction. The hyperidentified (image pattern five) would constitute a high empathy/positive (sympathy) position, being hyperidentified as it is with blacks. The reactionary (image pattern one) would constitute a high empathy/negative (antipathy), being counteridentified as it is with blacks. The cautionary, the liberal, and the radical patterns have varying degrees of empathic involvement through their image content, but not to the degree and not with the direct focus that the reactionary and hyperidentified do.

Thus, we might hypothesize, based on the illustrations above, that for the reactionary and the hyperidentified, action might well be expected and predicted in large part on the basis of the imagery substance of their view of blacks as much as the stage at which they make moral decisions.

That is to say, people in these two high empathy patterns may well violate the contractual norms and authority (the moral restraints) of society on the basis of their image involvement with blacks. This is, however, a very tenuous hypothesis and one which needs testing in a concrete situation. This we cannot do in this study, for we do not have any data upon which to base such a test. We could expect, however, that with people who are located in one of the other three image patterns (and indeed most people would no doubt come somewhere between the two extreme patterns on our image pattern schema), it would be equally important to know both the content of their images and the structure of their moral decision making process in order to know how, when, and why they would act in relationship to the larger social structures, and in turn what effect these social structures would have on their decisions to act with reference to blacks.

Empirical evidence related to hypothesis one

As part of this study, thirty-seven interviews were conducted with thirty-seven people out of the original sample of eighty. These thirty-seven people were interviewed using four of the Kohlberg moral dilemma stories (See Appendix F).[5] The interviews were taped, transcribed, and then sent to a member of Kohlberg's scoring team for analysis and scoring as to stage level of moral decision making. We will now use this scoring data for a brief final section of analysis.

Moral decision making scores and image pattern scoring

The first display of data to be given is related to the hypothesis concerning the relationship between moral decision making and imaging of blacks by whites, which was stated earlier in this chapter on page 201. The results of analysis of both measurements appear in Table 6.1 on the following page.

The first discovery to be noted from Table 6.1 is that in the sample of thirty-seven people scored for these two measures, the scoring on the May Image Pattern Scale reveals (1) three people scoring dominantly as cautionary (II); (2) twenty-two people scoring dominantly as liberal (III); (3) ten people scoring dominantly as radical (IV); and (4) two people scoring dominantly as hyperidentified (V).

On the one hand it appears from this that the measuring instrument is successful in differentiating varying image patterns among a group of thirty-seven people and that there is a scattered effect as to how people image blacks. On the other hand, the dominant imaging patterns of this sample fall clearly into the liberal pattern.

With regard to the Kohlberg scoring, we find that (1) seventeen of the thirty-seven subjects score dominantly on the Personal Concordance stage of moral judgment; (2) fourteen score dominantly on the Law and Order stage of moral judgment; and (3) six score dominantly on the Social Contract stage of moral judgment. For the two scales, no one scores

TABLE 6.1

SCORING BY INDIVIDUAL FOR THE MAY AND KOHLBERG MEASUREMENTS[6]

Subject Number	Image Pattern May Score	Moral Judgment Kohlberg Score
002	III	4
003	III	3
004	III	3
010	III	3
011	III	3
012	II	4
016	III	4
017	III	3
019	IV	5
020	IV	3
023	IV	5
025	III	3
026	III	4
029	II	4
031	IV	5
034	IV	5
037	III	3
039	III	3
043	IV	4
044	III	3
045	III	5
046	II	3
047	IV	5
048	V	4
054	III	4
056	III	3
059	V	3
060	III	3
064	III	4
065	III	4
068	III	4
070	III	3
074	III	3
075	IV	3
076	IV	4
079	IV	4
091	V	4

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dominantly on the reactionary pattern on the May Image Pattern Scale nor dominantly in Stages one, two, and six on the Kohlberg Moral Judgment Scale.

Noting the general trends, however, what can be found when the two measurements are related? Overall, the scores on the two measures tend to maintain a rather close correspondence. First, we note that of all the people scoring dominantly on the liberal pattern (III) on the May Image Pattern Scale (twenty-one people) and at the Personal Concordance Stage (3) on the Kohlberg Moral Judgement Scale (seventeen people), thirteen of those score identically (i.e. image pattern III and Stage 3) on the two measures. In other words, of the seventeen people scoring a 3 on the Kohlberg scale and of the twenty-one scoring likewise on the May scale, thirteen of them score three on both. What, then, might be the implications of this as far as action in relation to blacks is concerned? To begin with, (see Chapter II, pp. 83-92) such a situation means, with reference to the way they "see" blacks, that basically they view blacks as fully human and similar to all other people, to the point that the personal characteristics of blacks are primarily taken for granted as being equal to all other people. Blacks would be seen as behaving as the norm of the population behaves and we are expected to do so. Certainly those scoring in this pattern of images would want personal relationships with blacks and in a primary way. Blacks should be a full, participating part of society as it is and blacks must be brought in one way or another. Who is to blame for the problems and racial tensions? Basically it is a structural matter--institutions have been closed, however, laws are being passed enabling this to be overcome and emphasis should be put on the progress being made. There may even be some awareness of white racism in this image type.

Now, on the other hand, what might be expected with reference to action on the part of these people with a paired score of III/3 to carry into reality their perception of blacks and their image of what blacks deserve? According to the logic of Kohlberg's stages, characteristics of the Personal Concordance Stage are (see Table 5.1, pp. 190-191) of ". . . goodboy orientation. Orientation to approval and to pleasing and helping others. Conformity to stereotypical images of majority or natural role behavior, and judgment by intentions." As stands out in these characteristics, a Stage 3 response means that a person is primarily concerned about keeping himself "clean" with reference to the social and cultural demands that are portrayed around him through the various majority, white role models. If we hypothesize that these people are basically white, middle-class Protestants (which they are in this sample) then behavior will be determined very much by what other people (other whites) think of them personally and the way they act. This type is concerned with personal concordance, especially concordance with those closest to him; desire to have his significant, legitimized and personal reviewers and judgers approve his

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actions; and his behavior would be primarily determined by what they think and what they do. Thus we would not expect much overt action on behalf of black demands, black progress, and black equality if his personal friends were not supportive, even though as his image pattern shows, he sees that this is a part of the immediate perceived social reality he would be in sympathy with--if it happens in some way other than his own personal, active involvement.

But now let's compare this "action" motif with another, taking those people who scored on the liberal image pattern (III), but at a Law and Order Stage 4 in moral judgment. Seven people scored a III on the May scale and a 4 on the Kohlberg scale. We would expect a different action basis. The general characteristics of a Kohlberg Stage 4 scoring are "Authority and social order maintaining orientation. Orientation to 'doing duty' and to showing respect for authority and maintaining the given social order for its own sake. Regard for earned expectations of others." (See Table 5.1, pp. 190-191). If we were going to determine the action motif of this III/4 paired score comparison, we would have to look to a different loci. In the discussion above on a III/3 paired score, emphasis was on the personal, the friendship patterns, the significant model figures in one's life for determining action. Not so in the III/4 paired scoring. The shift is from the personal, horizontal interaction pattern for deciding to act, to a more impersonal, vertical interactional pattern, showing dependence for action on the larger social order. Social authority in a larger sense takes center stage and the social order as it is is the important concern. It is a "law and order" motif, with regard for the goodness and rightness of the social order as it is, having its own *raison d'etre*.

Thus, action for this type (III/4) would be toward maintaining what we have, with an opening up or minor adjustment of the social structures to get blacks into existing structures, and very likely a desire to "melt" them into the dominant way of life. No special treatment of blacks would seem to be called for, for one has to earn his right to a position in the structure. However, we *could* expect that effort would be directed toward doing this as soon as possible, for his image orientation would suggest that blacks have a definite place "in the middle" of it all. But above all, it should be kept orderly and under control.

As far as personal relationships with blacks are concerned, one could expect that this type of person would welcome them and desire them, but on his own level and terms. The relationships should definitely be equal therein, once blacks are there. Thus it would seem that a person with a III/4 paired scoring combination would be much less prone to act on the basis of whether or not his personal contacts, his immediate support group acted, but rather on the basis of whether the social order was being threatened in some way. This was not the case with the III/3 paired scoring combination.

An interesting note may be added here. So often decisions about "what people think of blacks" are made on the basis of how involved, active, and participatory one is in a movement to gain civil rights. As is becoming evident, this becomes a fallacious judgment, for already we can see that "what one does with regard to blacks" is not necessarily determined by "what one sees blacks as being or deserving." In both of the above cases the people have very similar "image orientations" toward blacks. But it could be quite likely that, for example, a person with a III/3 paired score would not be found in public in company with blacks because "it just doesn't look right" to his friends, while at the same time his images are such that he is quite open and willing to have personal, primary relationships. On the other hand, someone with a III/4 paired score might be very able and willing to eat, dance, and cavort in public with blacks, since that kind of relationship would not seem to threaten the larger social order and social authority. In these examples it would be all too easy to make a surface judgment that a person of the first type "must be opposed to blacks and dislike them," while one of the second type would "really like them, and be willing to defend their utmost demands."

The attempt here is to illustrate the potential that exists in understanding behavior and its substance by using these two measures together. The implications are too numerous to try to carry every combination out as to its

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logical relationship. Furthermore, for the purposes of this particular study it is not necessary to do so. However, let us take two final examples to round out the illustrative material, using what might be rather interesting and unusual paired scoring combinations.

Looking again at Table 6.1, page 209, we note that the greater number of the paired scores fall within one scoring level of each other, e.g. III/4, IV/5, etc. But it is also apparent that this is not necessarily true in all cases. Two examples will be illuminating--subjects number 012 and 029, and subject number 059. Subjects 012 and 029 both have a paired scoring of II on the May scale and 4 on the Kohlberg scale (II/4). The basic orientation of image pattern II (see Chapter II, pp. 75-83) is that blacks are to be compared to children in terms of their development, the way they act, the way they are to be related to, and the place which they are to be given in society. With a little good discipline, a little growing up and some very determined guidance on the part of the majority population, blacks can eventually be given full membership in society as matured, adult participants. With reference to Kohlberg's Stage 4, we have already discussed its logic.

Now, the implications are interesting here. Action on the part of a person with this pairing of scores could be expected to be directed toward making sure that blacks do not take on positions of authority or that they be given full participatory responsibility. A strong orientation exists toward maintaining the social order as it is and toward "earned" respect as a full participant of that social order. Children are not capable of that. Children are to be nurtured, shown how things are done, and "cared for" by the parent.

A person of this paired scoring would not expect, want, nor work for "getting blacks in" now. Perhaps a cautious optimism that it would come someday, but not right now. And since a Stage 4 judgment is based on looking at the larger social structures and social order, we could expect that this person would be motivated to act against such attempts as those of the late Martin Luther King, Jr. or the NAACP, who are asking for and working for full participation of blacks now as adult, responsible members. If the social order is threatened, he will act to retain or return a societal equilibrium. He would only be "doing his duty" as an American citizen. For a person of this type, any attempts at change would have to come from "the top down" for he would have to be fully convinced that the proper authorities were legitimizing any changes and he would want to see them instituted and established carefully and cautiously before he would accept them. Change for this type is not a "given," it is the exception, and even then it is gradual and guided by "the authorities." In addition, the Law and Order, Stage 4, individual emphasizes earned respect and expectations, and given his images this would not be possible for blacks on an equal basis.

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But let's look at another very interesting paired scoring. Subject number 059 has a paired score of V/3, a hyperidentified pattern on the May scale, and a Personal Concordance stage on the Kohlberg scale. This would appear to be a very unusual relationship, at least on the surface. Image pattern V (see Chapter II, pp. 98-101) is the hyperidentified white individual--thinking black, acting black, seeing black, talking black, and feeling black. He is white in skin color only. At first glance, one might think that this image orientation would most naturally relate to an Individual Principled, Stage 6, orientation, perhaps to a Social Contract or Law and Order, Stage 4 or 5, but probably not to a Stage 3, Personal Concordance. Yet if we look at the Stage 3 logic carefully, as we already have above, it has very logical and strong potential for relating to a hyperidentified image pattern. Note again that the thinking of Stage 3 is a "good boy" orientation, concerned with approval of others and pleasing and helping them. However, the important point to note here is that the "reference group" has now changed for an image pattern V individual. In the earlier example where a Personal Concordance, Stage 3, was used, the reference group was the white society, the white culture, and the white social order. This is no longer the case. Now the reference is blackness through and through. Therefore, pleasing and helping is now oriented toward black culture, black social order, etc. However, add another factor. If a white person has purely and completely[7] identified himself with blacks, he is more than just probably feeling a need for personal and affectional support. Therefore it would make a great deal of sense logically that he would want to be a "good boy," that he would want to please, that he would be helpful in order to gain and maintain the social and psychological kinds of plausibility structures necessary to function in even a minimal way.

By now the value of using the May and the Kohlberg measurements together has been demonstrated, enabling us to understand more clearly how, why, and what one's action might be.

Hypothesis Two

One more piece of evidence remains to be shown from the data and it relates specifically to the Selznick and Steinberg hypothesis related in Chapter V. Recall that Selznick and Steinberg argued on the basis of their survey data that significant in their findings on anti-Semitism was

> . . . the implicit relation between lack of education and lack of moral sensibility. [They go on to add that] . . . lack of cognitive sophistication leads them [anti-Semites according to their measures of anti-Semitism] to accept beliefs whose implications are anti-humanitarian, blaming and socially devisive. (See Chapter V, p. 181.)

I think that this study can add a clearer understanding to the implications of the Selznick and Steinberg statement.

Empirical evidence related to hypothesis two

First, Selznick and Steinberg are not clear as to what they mean by "education." On the one hand, they use the absolute indicator of "grade level" to determine what education means. On the other hand, they created an index including a number of items used to measure what they called level of "cognitive sophistication" of the respondents. Yet they use both of these concepts in the same paragraph. One might be led to believe, therefore, that they assume the two are co-variable and that more education (as indicated by years in school) and a higher level of cognitive sophistication (degree of ability to think complexly) correlate in a positive direction.

Based on the small number of cases we have, evidence appears that would suggest that this is not true. Table 6.2 which is shown on the following page summarizes this evidence.

Of necessity, one should be cautious here, for it is possible that what Selznick and Steinberg mean by "cognitive sophistication" is different than what the Kohlberg Moral Judgment Scale measures. However, from my reading of the Selznick and Steinberg discussion the two ideas look very much the same in intent. Furthermore, if this is true, the findings in this study concerning cognitive functioning would seem to have greater validity in that the Kohlberg measurement and scoring has a much more substantial interview and qualitative analytic basis for determining cognitive process than an index type measurement in survey research and analysis.

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TABLE 6.2

COMPARISON OF LEVEL OF EDUCATION WITH DOMINANT STAGE OF MORAL JUDGMENT (KOHLBERG SCALE)

High School or Less		First Year of College		Last Year of College		College Degree or More	
Subject Number	Stage Score	Subject Number	Stage Score	Subject Number	Stage Score	Subject Number	Stage Score
004	3	003	3	043	4	002	4
010	3	011	3	044	3	016	4
017	3	012	4	045	5	025	3
029	4	019	5	047	5	034	5
048	4	020	3	059	3	037	3
060	3	026	4	064	4	039	3
065	4	031	5	070	3	046	3
068	4	054	4	075	3	056	3
074	3	023	5	091	4		
076	4						
079	4						
(N=11)		(N=9)		(N=9)		(N=8)	

(Total N=37)

To continue, the evidence herein is that level of education and complexity and/or sophistication of cognitive process do not correspond in a positive direction, as measured by the Kohlberg analysis. Remember that a higher stage of cognitive moral judgment is a more sophisticated and complex cognitive functioning and integrates lower and less complex stages of cognitive moral judgment in the Kohlberg theory. Referring to Table 6.2, when *high school or less* level of education and *college degree or more* level of education (in absolute grade year terms) are compared, it becomes immediately apparent that level of education does not explain the degree of complexity and/or sophistication in cognitive process. For example, the *college degree or more* category has nearly two thirds (63%) of its subjects at the Stage 3 level of cognitive moral functioning, while the *high school or below* category has less than half (45%) of its subjects at that level. Furthermore, the *high school or below* level of education has over half (55%) of its subjects at a Stage 4 level, while the *college degree or more* level of education has only one fourth (25%) of its subjects at a Stage 4 level.

But further evidence appears that does not support the "absolute level of education" theory in relation to cognitive sophistication when we observe the location of those people scoring at a Social Contract level of cognitive moral functioning (Stage 5). The Social Contract stage represents a very high level of sophistication and/or

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complexity in cognitive functioning, higher considerably than at Stage 3. As the scorer who did the scoring of the Kohlberg stories for this study commented, " . . . resolution of dilemmas on Stage 6 [Individual Principled] universal, philosophic values . . . is extremely RARE!" suggesting that Stage 5 is in itself somewhat exceptional. We find then, that three of the six subjects (50%) in this study who make cognitive moral judgments at the complex Stage 5 level are in the first year of college category, two of the six (33.3%) are in the last year of college category, and only one of the six (16.3%) is in the college degree or beyond category. If level of education and cognitive sophistication were interrelated and the first explained the second, the results should show just the reverse of these findings. Thus, the thrust of the evidence we have here, based on in-depth interviews and qualitative analysis, would suggest that caution be used in relating lack of education and lack of cognitive sophistication.

This leads to the following conclusion. When a measure of moral sensibility such as the Kohlberg Moral Judgment Scale is used that combines moral judgment with a theory that bases moral judgment and cognitive sophistication on extent and type of social experience and not on level of education, and then this is compared to the absolute level of education as measured by years of school completed, the importance of the latter (level of education) would appear to submit to the former (moral judgment and cognitive

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sophistication) in its importance in explaining moral sensibility. In other words, the ". . . implicit relation between lack of education and lack of moral sensibility. . ." no longer even remains implicit. Lack of education would appear to fall out as a determinant of moral sensibility, and other factors would become important. What those other factors might be is not within the scope of this research to say, except that the Kohlberg theory would suggest strongly that it has to do with the extent of and quality of one's social experiences and interactions that make a big difference in explaining complexity of moral judgment and moral sensibility and not years of school completed.

The other important implication of these findings is that the relationship that Selznick and Steinberg find between moral sensibility and anti-Semitism we would argue is certainly important with regard to images of blacks as we have defined and analyzed them, but it is a much more complicated relationship than they suggest and it is not necessarily a causal relationship. Moral sensibility does not have a causal relationship to images of blacks, but these two would seem to have important interactive relationships in terms of explaining social action. Therefore, one cannot simply argue as Selznick and Steinberg do that "On certain issues . . . the uneducated are more likely than the educated to favor liberal and progressive policy. But . . . [on other issues] the uneducated do not generally exhibit compassion for the underdog or sympathetic understanding of the plight of others." (Chapter V, p. 181). First, it may well not be a matter of level of education at all that makes the difference, and secondly, it is more than likely not the issue involved so much as it is the way in which one morally interprets his position and relationship to others like or unlike himself and his relationship to the larger social order and social structure generally. This would certainly be the direction of interpretation implicated by the evidence shown in this study.

As one final check on the significance of the level of education as indicated by years of school completed, we can place level of education alongside different image pattern scores to observe how the two interact together. Table 6.3 presents this data for all eighty people in the sample. (See Table 6.3 on following page).

The results are as one might have expected given our earlier findings for level of education related to moral judgment. Again it seems that level of education does not have a clear and direct effect on what type of images one will have of blacks. Each of the image patterns, beginning with the reactionary and progressing through the hyperidentified, represents to a certain degree a more accepting, complex and positive view of blacks. The reactionary, of course, is an intensely negative, simplistic, and highly unidimensional view of blacks, but from there the negative imagery decreases to the point in the hyperidentified

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TABLE 6.3

COMPARISON OF LEVEL OF EDUCATION WITH DOMINANT PATTERN OF IMAGING BLACKS (MAY SCALE)

High School or Less		First Year of College		Last Year of College		College Degree or More	
Subject Number	Image Score	Subject Number	Image Score	Subject Number	Image Score	Subject Number	Image Score
004	III	001	IV	005	IV	002	III
010	III	003	III	006	III	007	I
017	III	011	III	008	IV	016	III
029	II	012	II	013	II	025	III
033	III	018	IV	015	IV	034	IV
036	III	019	IV	022	III	035	II
040	II	020	IV	027	IV	037	III
048	V	021	IV	030	IV	038	III
053	I	023	IV	043	IV	039	III
055	III	026	III	044	III	042	III
057	III	028	IV	045	III	046	II
060	III	031	IV	047	IV	056	III
065	III	032	III	049	III	058	III
066	IV	052	IV	059	V	063	III
067	II	054	III	064	III	069	IV
068	III	061	IV	070	III	071	III
074	III	072	III	075	IV	073	II
076	IV	062	IV	081	III	078	III
079	IV			082	IV		
080	III			083	IV		
				084	III		
				085	IV		
				086	IV		
				091	V		
(N=20)		(N=18)		(N=24)		(N=18)	

(Total N=80)

pattern where the imagery of blacks is intensely positive. Given this progressive movement in the image pattern schema, level of education does not explain the degree of acceptance or rejection, complexity or simplicity, positive or negative pictures of blacks.

Let's begin with image pattern III, the liberal imagery, accepting blacks as average, normal, everyday type people. It is apparent in Table 6.3 that this pattern is the dominant image pattern of people in all four categories of education. As a matter of fact, people with a high school diploma or less are just as likely as people with a college degree or more to accept blacks as average ordinary people according to our data. Twelve people out of twenty (60%) with high school diplomas or less have a dominant score in the liberal pattern (III), and twelve people out of eighteen (67%) in the college degree or beyond have dominant imagery in the liberal pattern.

When we move to image pattern IV, the radical--a more intense acceptance of blacks and more complex in its understanding of black/white relations--further evidence appears discounting the importance of years of education for explaining imagery of blacks. Here we find that eleven people out of eighteen (62%) in their first year of college and twelve people out of twenty-four (50%) in their last year of college hold dominant imagery in the radical pattern. This is over against only two people out of eighteen (11%) in the college degree and beyond category and three people out of twenty (15%)

with high school diplomas or less holding dominant imagery in the radical pattern. Again, level of education appears to tell us little.

In order to get an overall summarization of the number and proportion of people that score on a particular image pattern in relationship to their level of education, Table 6.4 summarizes the data shown in Table 6.3. (See Table 6.4 on the following page.)

Table 6.4 reveals a clear pattern that discounts the idea that the more formal education one has, the more positive and complex will be his relationship to blacks. To begin, it is apparent that 60% of the people with high school diplomas or less have dominant imagery on the liberal pattern (III). This is well over half. One could argue, I suppose, that in itself that does not refute the idea that level of formal education is related to acceptance of blacks. Yet it would also seem unusual, if the education hypothesis were valid, that so many in the lower levels of education would have a liberal orientation toward blacks. A cautionary, even reactionary orientation would seem much more likely. But then we note a further fact. When looking at the other extreme of level of education, nearly the very same percentage of people have dominant imagery on the liberal pattern (67%). This result is completely incongruous with the education hypothesis, for now almost identical proportions of people can be found on the liberal image pattern in both the lowest

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TABLE 6.4

NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES OF PEOPLE SCORING ON THE VARIOUS IMAGE PATTERNS ACCORDING TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION

Image Pattern	High School or Less		First Year of College		Last Year of College		College Degree or More	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Reactionary	1	5%	0	--	0	--	1	5%
Cautionary	3	15%	1	5%	1	4%	3	17%
Liberal	12	60%	6	33%	9	38%	12	67%
Radical	3	15%	11	62%	12	50%	2	11%
Hyperidentified	1	5%	0	--	2	8%	0	--
	(N=20)		(N=18)		(N=24)		(N=18)	

(Total N=80)

and the highest education categories. That in itself is evidence to question the idea that level of education effects views of blacks. Finally, note that in the two middle categories of education--first year of college and last year of college--the largest proportion of people in each have dominant imagery on a more complex level of imagery, namely, the radical pattern. In these two categories 62% of those in their first year of college and 50% of those in their last year of college are found on the radical pattern. Again, this is evidence opposed to the idea of level of education's influence on views of blacks.

If level of education were to be important in explaining the way whites orient themselves toward blacks, almost just the reverse of this would be expected. We would expect to find very few or no people having imagery on the radical pattern in the high school or less category, and we would expect those with college degrees or more to have the radical perspectives at least as often, if not more so, than people in their first and last years of college. This just is not the case. In fact, the numbers of people scoring on the reactionary, cautionary, and liberal patterns in the two extreme categories of education are identical. (The percentages are slightly different due to different N's.) But then to add further evidence, we find three people in the high school diplomas or less category having dominant imagery on the radical and one person on the hyperidentified patterns, while in the college degree or more category only

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two score dominantly on the radical pattern and none score on the hyperidentified. Clearly, something other than years of education determines the imagery one has of blacks.

What that "something other" might be is very likely related to the quality of one's social experience and interaction rather than formal education. This is not to ignore the formal education element, but it is to ask more cogently, what kind of educational experiences have what effects on one's general cognitive sophistication and on one's imagery patterns? This raises questions about exactly what our educational institutions are creating when they claim to be educating students who are the leaders of tomorrow. This raises the issue of what type of people are being turned out of universities that have increasingly specialized programs of education that are more interested in narrowing the range of education into corraled, specialized fields than in offering a liberal education that is focused on liberating and expanding the minds and emotions of young people. It is of interest to note that in our sample the "students" (first and last years of college) who participated were from a liberal arts college in which specialized training is not emphasized. It is also interesting to note that the image scores of these students were at a higher level than those outside the college. It would be interesting and important to compare the scores of students from a liberal arts college to those from a university where emphasis is on specializing and narrowing one's focus early.

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On the other hand, there is something positive to be said for the fact that such a large percentage of those people with a high school diploma or less scored on the liberal pattern of imagery. Obviously something in their socialization process outside of formal education has expanded their imagery of blacks and has made it empathic and complex. Whether that socialization process is family background, work experience, or whatever, raises some interesting possibilities for further study using the multidimensional and multi-patterned conceptualization of black/white relations.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented data related to two hypotheses. The first spoke to the way in which imagery of blacks and level of cognitive moral judgment might correspond. The evidence and discussion showed that differing types of relationships can be identified and that a causal relationship cannot necessarily be expected nor is it crucial that it does. Imagery of blacks lies at an expressive "lived" level or orientation of whites toward blacks, forming the underlying motif for the way in which whites "empathize" with blacks. Cognitive moral judgment, on the other hand, is a cognitive, instrumental means by which people appraise their relationships to other people and to the larger social and cultural order on a general level. The process of cognitive moral judgment is one mode by which images are organized and mobilized for action and it helps in deciding when and why one's images will find expression in social action.

We then turned to the second hypothesis--relationship of level of education to moral judgment and to imagery of blacks. It was discovered that level of education, as indicated by years of school completed, is not a helpful explanation for determining either how one makes moral judgments or what imagery one will have of blacks. This final evidence leads us to the conclusion that what may be more important in explaining level of moral judgment and type of imagery held of blacks is rather the quality and quantity of social experiences and interactions that one has on two levels--the general level of social experience and the specific level of social experience. The former level would be significant in developing and maturing the complexity of cognitive functioning and moral judgments. The latter level would be significant specifically in creating and developing different types of imagery of blacks.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Inevitably, when a traveler returns from an adventure that has taken him to new places or enabled him to explore the before unexplored folds and facets of an old reality, he finds himself "taking stock," asking where he has been, what has happened, and what are the implications of the journey. This is no less true of an adventure such as this. From the beginning I have been aware that I have been exploring a new concept in a field that has been well trampled by fellow travelers before. In this sense, I have also been aware that whatever has been accomplished is of necessity in an exploratory vein. Two questions need posing for brief consideration in this final chapter. (1) What has our exploration uncovered? and (2) What are the implications of such an exploration for future research?

What has our exploration uncovered?

Inherent in the fact that from the outset we were approaching with a fresh perspective a field of study that had been highly researched already is the necessity of developing a theoretical framework on which can be hung the empirical reality that is the issue or problem. Being aware of this, Chapter I initiated this study on an abstract, theoretical and metaphysical level of discussion. The discussion in Chapter I constituted an attempt to develop a means of analysis that would take us deeper into the way human beings experience and live the "being" of another, regardless of whether or not they are in constant person-to-person, day-to-day contact with them. This point is especially significant with reference to the specific issue before us, for it is certainly true that whites do not have anything like constant interaction with blacks due in large part to the structure of this society. And yet, even though whites normally do not have extended personal contact with blacks, it would seem of extreme importance to understand how whites do "see," do "live" and do "experience" the reality of blackness. Why? Precisely because the issue of black/white relations is so dominant in American society and because the question of how much progress blacks are able to make toward equality and justice rests in part on how the majority population views them and is willing to *allow*, *if not participate in*, larger social changes necessitated in order to create equality. To know how blacks are "lived" by whites is to know in part to what extent whites will be willing to "let them live."

Already, however, we find that we have moved from the theoretical level of considering images as a theoretical construct in and of itself into the middle of the issue of black/white relations. If a concept is to be of value in understanding social relationships, it must be applicable

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to the specific. We were able to show in Chapter II that the concept of image and imaging takes on a most fundamental meaning when applied in the form of image patterns. In other words, when we talk about images of blacks held by whites, we are not talking about one image, or several independent, discreet images. Rather, patterns of images form the base by which imaging of blacks can be understood. And we were able to show theoretically the contours of different images as they join together to create differentiated ideal-type image patterns. At the same time care was taken to stress that these image patterns are not unidimensional, but rather have various dimensions in them that are relatively independent.

The time of "judgment" inevitably arrives. Are images and image patterns the figment of some academicians imagination, or are they a part of the reality of social interaction? Through the "eyes" of others, we were able to show analytically that indeed differing image patterns are a distinct reality in social life and that they are not all-of-a-piece, but are multidimensional.

The significance of this lies in the potential this offers for moving beyond a restricted understanding of black/white relations in a negative mode. If, through further research, our theoretical schema and analysis of empirical data finds further support and expansion, we have hit upon a way to understand black/white interactions as comprehending both the positive and the negative, with various degrees of both inbetween. The issue need not be framed in an "anti" frame of reference, which in itself has negative implications. It seems elementary to have to suggest after so much work has been done in this field that there are other ways to view the issue of black and white than in a negative vein. But no matter how elementary, it is necessary, for it has not been done before to the degree shown herein. What we have done here carries important ramifications for increased ability to overcome some of the conflicts and dilemmas that exist between black and white. It is foolish to simply and always frame the study of black/white relations in the negative, and then assume that if whites are not negative, they must be positive and be willing to accept blacks, interact with them, and act toward the creation of a moral order that includes justice and equality for all, blacks included.

It is precisely this last concern that was one factor motivating the decision to expand our approach even further. All right, so we have been able to show theoretically and empirically what whites might "see" when they perceive blacks, how they "live" the reality of blackness. A nagging question remained, however. Does it necessarily follow that if we know how whites "live" blacks that whites will necessarily be willing to "let them live" in the sense of a full life and participation in society? This question pivots on our statement earlier in this Conclusion that,

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> . . . the question of how much progress blacks are able to make toward equality and justice rests in part on how the majority population views them and is willing to allow, if not participate in, larger social changes necessitated in order to create the equality being demanded.

We are considering, then, matters that go beyond the specific issue, matters that relate to the larger social order, and, as we conceive of it, matters that pertain to decisions about changes and action that have moral implications.

Consequently, in the final two chapters, our theoretical frame and analysis moved to a different level to take into consideration the matter of how people interpret the larger social and culture order and how they make decisions about social change and their own active involvement with its moral implications. I feel that this is an important addition to the theory and analysis of images and imaging, because it presents one context into which images can be placed and a structure by which images can be organized and mobilized to guide the direction behavior will assume. The two theories complement each other, affording a more comprehensive understanding of the meaning of blacks for whites and the behavior that might be expected directly or indirectly on behalf of or in opposition to the desires and demands of blacks. Suggestions were made concerning some ways in which the two theories of imaging and of moral judgment might interrelate in such a way as to explain white responses to blacks. These suggestions were just that, and further work should be done to develop a more complete analysis of

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all possible correspondences between imaging and moral judgment that would explain action or inaction on the part of whites.

Finally, it was shown that the popular notion that level of education is significant in explaining what others have called "prejudice" loses most of whatever explanatory power it had when the issue of black/white relations is framed in the multipatterned approach taken in this study. My hunch is that perhaps when the issue is framed negatively and unidimensionally as previously was the case, some co-variance can be found between "degree of prejudice" (as others have defined it--high, medium, and low) and "level of education." When the issue is conceived multidimensionally and multipatterned, level of education does not explain difference in imagery and in addition does not explain level of moral judgment. In both instances, level of education drops out as a predictor and something else must replace it. As briefly suggested, a variable which appears worthy of pursuing for explaining differentiated imaging and stages of moral judgment would be some form of the quality and quantity of social experiences. This study, however, did not include data upon which to test such a hypothesis.

Implications for future research

The exploratory nature of this research has been stressed throughout. What has been accomplished I feel is a solid foundation, but it only begins to scratch the surface and open up other possibilities. Future research should focus on expanding and knitting together more integrally the image patterns profiled in Chapter II. I *do* believe that the patterned profiles presented are "real" in the sense that people *can* identify with one or another or perhaps with a couple of these profiles. In the process of doing the research, for example, when people not related to the research were shown Chapter II, they seemed to identify very quickly with such a typological structure. But certainly it is not complete. More substantive materials could be brought in from literature in a number of areas that would further intensify and explicate the meaning of each profile. Data from newspapers and magazines could be added. In addition, more dimensions of meaning could be added, for those identified in Chapter II do not completely tap the many dimensions of black/white interaction that exist. Finally, historical materials should be brought into the discussion of the profiles.

I see the latter suggestion on historical materials as one particularly fruitful path to pursue, for the following reasons. As I have worked with the image patterns and their development, it has seemed that one or another of the profiles, while pitched at the level of individuals and groups, has had significant relation to a particular historical period as well. Perhaps one or another of the image patterns could be found to have existed in specific historical periods as *the* central pattern of orientation by which whites structured

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their relationships to blacks. Two works that have been cited and used in our study suggest the potential of such an idea. One is Seymour L. Gross and John Edward Hardy, *Images of the Negro in American Literature*, in which they explore the different dominant images that have governed the type of literature produced in a given historical period. The other is George M. Fredrickson's *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914*, in which he explores several different patterns of black/white relations over approximately a one hundred year period.

Another hunch that needs to be pursued is that there may be inherent in the image patterns as they have been laid out a sort of sequential, developmental logic. That is to ask, Is it not possible that as a nation, or a community, develops in its relationship to blacks the dominant imagery on which those relationships are based evolves in a singular direction on our schema? For example, in America the dominant image pattern in its colonial days was image pattern one--the reactionary. Is it possible to show that as the image infrastructure of the society changed, it moved from a reactionary to a cautionary, to a liberal, and possibly even to the radical? (Image pattern five would not probably enter into this developmental schema.) One way to test this is to take the image pattern schema and apply it to the historical development of the nation. Another possibility might be a comparative study, in which the schema would be

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applied as just suggested, but to another nation as well, such as South Africa. One question becomes, then, as the black/white social patterns begin to change in South Africa, do they unfold in a developmental, sequential fashion in any way similar to our theoretical schema?

Another area in which work should be pursued is in expanding and making more valid the series of dimensional indexes that were developed in Chapter IV. As noted several times in that chapter, two primary tasks need to be undertaken. (1) More image pattern indicators need to be tested for validity and added to the indexes, thus making the indexes even more pointedly measures of a particular dimension and image pattern. (2) The wording of the indicators needs to be refined. These two suggestions complement those noted in above paragraphs, for not only do the image patterns need further refinement and application, but means of measuring the image patterns also need expanding and refining.

Finally, one other suggestion can be made with reference to the implications arising from this study. As noted in Chapter III, when this research was originally conceived, a more encompassing research design was set forth. The reader will recall that as originally conceived, we had planned to relate a specific level of imaging to a general level of imaging, making the analytical results more comprehensive and meaningful. In addition, it was planned that data on several different social minorities would be gathered, also making the analysis broader in scope. Circumstances

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precluded carrying out the broader design in this study. However, some comments are in order. With reference to the general/specific conceptualization, it is still important and possible to pursue. Data is available from the original set of interviews pertaining to imaging on the general level--images of the nature of man, and of the nature of political and social process. In addition, it should be pointed out, if it is not already clear, that we have already included one such general level of functioning, in the form of the Kohlberg Moral Judgment Scale. The Kohlberg theory helps put the specific concern of black/white interactions in a broader context of moral discernment. But more needs to be added, for it would still be helpful to know a person's images of certain general aspects of the political, social, and economic process in addition to the way one conceives of the universal patterns of the moral order. Thus, work should continue on the general level.

In addition, data is also available on some other specific level issues, e.g. poverty and homosexuality. It would be important to pursue research and analysis on these specific issues in order (1) to develop a pool of images which could be classified and organized for each specific issue, and (2) by so doing have a basis for a comparative study of imagery of blacks related to imagery of other minority groupings in the society. From such a comparative analysis, one could perhaps discover the degree to which an individual's imagery and orientation toward other minorities were similar and/or dissimilar, giving an indication of the degree to which image orientations are diversified or monolithic toward specific minorities.

For example, as noted in Chapter II, Norman Cohn (1967) has argued that "The Jew" is most characteristically seen as a "bad father" by anti-Semites, while "The Negro" is virtually never seen that way. First of all, one could ask what other image orientations exist toward Jews besides the "bad father," which could be explored in a way similar to the way different image patterns of blacks were developed in this study. It would also be possible, by a comparative analysis of differing patterns of imagery for both Jews and blacks to discover whether certain patterns of imagery are held by the same people _across_ views held of different minorities. That is to ask, what images and image patterns have valence for one another _across_ minorities? Are there some patterns that always seem to appear together in some people, and if so, why, if not, why not? The differentiated image patterning of whites shown to exist with reference to _one_ minority in this study could then be expanded to ask, do the image patterns one holds of different minorities differentiate _across_ minorities, or is there a tendency to hold undifferentiated orientations toward several minorities?

Perhaps this quotation will illustrate something of what a relatively undifferentiated patterning across groups would consist of. It is taken from a newspaper clipping from the _San Francisco Chronicle_ (3/2/70) headlined, "Complex Causes of The Riots in Santa Barbara."

> 'Outside agitators . . . undoubtedly Communist oriented . . . . They come in and create an issue to whip up emotions of a small number of mental misfits on the campus, and they get away with it. . . . Nobody does a God-damn thing to stop them and all of a sudden we have a riot on our hands.' [A direct quote from a merchant in Santa Barbara]

Any complexity of the causes seems to be dissipated here by an imagery that de-differentiates causes, participants, and results into one package consisting of outsiders and Communists (causes), mental misfits (participants), and riots (results). Just this one quotation raises intriguing possibilities to be explored about this individual's images of other social, economic, and political processes and his level of moral sensitivity.

Overall, then, the theory, research, and analysis contained in this study not only has its own inherent value, but opens the way to other research possibilities that would increase our understanding of majority/minority relationships in a society. And that, given my own presuppositions about the value of understanding and communication set forth in the Introduction, has potential for enlightened and predictive advocacy of social change.

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NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. This research was conducted under the auspices of The Wright Institute in Berkeley, California, Nevitt Sanford, Scientific Director. Funding for the study came in the form of a small grant from the Institute of Strategic Studies of the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. with offices located in New York City. Through the kind encouragement and help of Everett Perry, Director of the Institute, I was able to receive these funds based on a proposal written at that time.

2. Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, Otto Kerner, Chairman (New York: Bantam Books, 1968).

3. Marlynn L. May, "Religion and Attitudes Toward Negroes," (unpublished paper, The Wright Institute, Berkeley, California, 1968).

4. Gertrude Selznick and Stephen Steinberg, The Tenacity of Prejudice (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1969). This quote, and one other that appears in this study, are taken from a mimeographed copy of the book given to me by Mr. Steinberg.

5. This point about whites not seeing themselves as prejudiced raises another point that should be noted. I am using the term "prejudice" here and will use it again briefly in this Introduction. However, I am using it here simply to keep our thoughts congruous with the suggestion of Selznick and Steinberg about "polite prejudice." One purpose of this study is to develop several different profiles that such polite prejudice might take. But after I leave the Introduction the use of the term "prejudice" gradually drops from the vocabulary for the following reason. The term has been used so loosely by so many, and furthermore, has taken on certain connotations through other studies that I do not wish to carry with me throughout this study. Prejudice has come to mean primarily a kind of negative, stereotypic, hostile attitude and the minute the word is used, red flags are released. In this study we move beyond that singular view of how whites might orient themselves toward blacks and do not wish to be held accountable for the connotations of the term "prejudice." In addition, prejudice has usually

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been connected, in the study of black/white relations, with the concepts of beliefs and attitudes. As will become evident, I develop a different concept for this study--the concept of images and imaging--and a different result is forthcoming when I then talk about relations between black and white. As the study progresses it will become less and less meaningful to speak of being prejudiced, non-prejudiced, or moderately prejudiced. Rather, I will begin to speak in terms of "patterns of orientation" that whites use in responding and relating to blacks, patterns which may or may not be prejudged as "prejudiced" depending on the social context in which the pattern of orientation finds expression and who is calling it prejudiced or not. By the midpoint of this work, then, the use of the word "prejudice" will have disappeared from my vocabulary.

6. Franz From, Perception of Other People, trans. by Erik Kvan and Brendon Maher (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), p. 2.

CHAPTER I

1. Sigmund Freud, "Instincts and Their Vicissitudes," (1915), as quoted in John Rickman, ed., A General Selection from the Works of Sigmund Freud (Doubleday Anchor Books, Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1957), p. 70.

2. A theoretical understanding of "image" in the social sciences is rather undeveloped, and to my knowledge not developed at all in relation to prejudice. This is borne out in part by the fact that "image" as an independent subject, is not treated at all in The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. The concept "image" only appears under such other headings as "Body Image," taking a predominantly physiological approach; or under other concepts such as "Symbol" or "Archetype" where it is given only passing consideration. There have been a few theorists and researchers in the social sciences who have worked with the concept of image. One who has discussed something like image is Charles H. Cooley and his concept of the "looking glass self," but his work is not directly applicable to our understanding of the concept of image. And then there are the writers who use the word "image" but fail to give serious consideration to the theoretical fabric of the term itself and just proceed to use it in their writing without giving a clue to its theoretical place and significance. I think for example of the following authors in this category: Anselm Strauss, Images of the American City (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961); Anselm Strauss, The American City: A

Sourcebook of Urban Imagery (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968); Anselm Strauss, *The Contexts of Social Mobility: Ideology and Theory* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1971); James A. Mau, *Social Change and Images of the Future* (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1968).

3. Quoted by Walter Lippmann, "The World Outside and the Pictures in Our Heads," in C. Wright Mills, ed., *Images of Man: The Classic Tradition in Sociological Thinking* (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1960), pp. 31-32.

4. *Ibid*., p. 33.

5. I realize that a separatinn between image as representation and external reality as object represented seems to be implied. However, I do not accept such a dichotomization and would ask the reader to hold this issue until later in this analysis where I will attempt to show how this separation is overcome, at least in part, through the use of the concept of image.

6. I am cognizant of the fact that a more comprehensive theory of images would involve an extended discussion of the origin and evolution of images over a given historical period. In addition, to be completely comprehensive our study should empirically trace the source of current images in a given population. While being fully aware of this, the scope of this research design and the allotted time do not allow for such a full and comprehensive study at this time. Hopefully, we will be able to pursue such a study at a later date.

7. I am fully aware that this statement, as presently written, does not allow for those images that might be created in a person's mind through an active imagination, thus forming images in the head (internal representations) that would have no immediate external object as a reference point and source of the image. I certainly do not preclude this sort of process in my understanding of images, but add these comments concerning this situation. When such creations of the imagination occur, a potential conflict arises because the images created are particularly private images and therefore do not enjoy the satisfaction of support from the surrounding community. But these images cannot be locked away forever in the mind of the holder. They will seek to find some expression in the human community. Perhaps it will be through art, or perhaps through new social groupings. If these external counterparts of the image find acceptance--shared meaning--then new forms of social reality are borne, though certainly such new creations, for a time, are looked upon by the "normal" members of society as aberrant, perverted, and deviant precisely because they do not "fit" presently

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existing social forms. This state of affairs will persist until the new creation is either "co-opted" into the main stream of society or dies due to lack of support. It is when the creator of an image does not find acceptance of his image--does not find shared meaning--in the surrounding social matrix that a potentially destructive state of affairs exists, for the holder of the image, if he persists, will be driven to living alone in his own private image gallery. The extreme of this would be various forms of psychoses.

8. It is important that the active function of imaging be emphasized, as it will be below, for it is all too easy to simply look at image as passive--as formed by the external environment. There is a constant relationship in imaging between "being formed" (the passive) and "forming for itself" (the active). We are "in-formed" by the object(s) and in turn the in-formed image forms objects such that they "con-form" (form with) the image as subject. As Husserl pointed out, consciousness never exists in a subjective vacuum, but is always conscious of something. Consciousness not only cannot be separated from its objective world, but it constitutes its world. It is a continuous molding and remolding of our world--self related to objects and objects to self in inseparable ways. The significant implication of this is that meaning can never be separated from the cold facts, and "subjective reality" can never be separated from "objective reality." Images, actively conceived, help overcome such a dichotomy.

9. The relationship of images to attitudes will be discussed later in this chapter.

10. This position has now changed somewhat theoretically and it is usually accepted that belief includes both the cognitively neutral and the affective dimensions. But this still does not solve the dilemma into which the concept of "belief" has taken us. For a discussion of this theory see Milton Rokeach, Beliefs, Attitudes and Values (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., Publishers, 1969). See especially chapters one and five.

11. Websters Third New International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged (1963).

12. Martin Fishbein, "An Investigation of the Relationship Between Beliefs About an Object and the Attitude Toward that Object," Human Relations (August, 1963), p. 233. "Belief" as used here is the primary unit of analysis used in nearly all the literature on prejudice.

13. This point concerning images as a means of "making

the other a part of oneself" is one which carries with it numerous research opportunities. The reader is referred to some exciting research in this area that is being carried out by Eugene Gendlin and Linda Olsen in the area of psychotherapy. They have been experimenting with the idea of "focusing" of a problem and asking the patient to develop his image of what it is that is troubling him. One experience that was related to me personally by Miss Olsen shows how this works. The patient came to the therapist complaining that something kept appearing before him in his dreams and this something was nothing more than a diffuse, circular and orange blob. The therapist, in working with the patient asked the patient to focus on this circular, orange blob and to describe his image of it. As they worked together, the patient gradually sharpened the image that he had in his mind until it became a very distinct person--a person that was very close and intimately related to the patient. Through this "imaging" process the patient was able to confront and deal with his problem. For a discussion of this imaging experiment, see Eugene T. Gendlin, "Focusing," *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research and Practice*, Vol. 6, No. 1, (Winter, 1969) pp. 4-15; and Eugene T. Gendlin and Linda Olsen, "The Use of Imagery in Experiential Focusing," *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research and Practice*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (Winter, 1970) pp. 20-22.

14. The following anecdote is a pointed example of this idea. It is reported that at a Congress of Psychology in Göttingen an experiment was made with a crowd of presumably trained observers. It was reported like this:

> Not far from the hall in which the Congress was sitting there was a public fete with a masked ball. Suddenly the door of the hall was thrown open and a clown rushed in madly pursued by a negro, revolver in hand. They stopped in the middle of the room fighting; the clown fell, the negro leapt upon him, fired, and then both rushed out of the hall. The whole incident hardly lasted twenty seconds.

This scene was staged and those present at the Congress asked, after it took place, to write immediately a report since there was sure to be a judicial inquiry. Forty did so. Out of the forty, more than a majority saw a scene that had not taken place. What did they see? All of them had in the course of their lives acquired a series of images of brawls. These images determined what was seen and how it was interpreted. Lippmann writes, "One would suppose it was easier to tell what had occurred, than to invent something which had not occurred." Not so. (Cited by Walter Lippmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39 from F. van Langenhove, *The Growth of a Legend*, pp. 120-122.)

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15. This phrase--imaginative participation--will be used from time to time throughout this chapter. When used, it refers to the idea expressed above of "living" the part of the other. For a related discussion of this phrase, see Rollo May, Love and Will (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1969), chapter 9.

This point would also seem to have important implications for the fields of the social and behavioral sciences (theory and research), because if carefully heeded it will lessen the danger of falling into a too facile empiricism (or behaviorism) where reality is viewed as object (and is thought to have to be so if a "science" of man is possible) and can be studied only as such. On the other hand, it should warn us against a too facile theory that removes reality from its "lived" dimension into a sort of mystical realm of metaphysics.

16. See p. 18 above.

17. The reader is cautioned about making too great a break between these two realms in everyday life. Analytically it is necessary for us to separate the two in order to grasp their sphere of influence, but in everyday social life processes these two interact significantly and continually.

18. The expressive mode of understanding is the mode in which our concept of image has the most importance. The expressive mode is that mode which is most personal to us and constitutes that sphere of reality that we make most meaningfully ours. Furthermore, if this is true, then even the instrumental mode of knowing discussed in the text is not completely separate from this expressive mode of understanding, for parts of it have to become a part of our expressive mode in order to be directly and meaningfully ours. However, the two modes should be kept distinct for analytical purposes and because there is a difference between the two modes as concerns the understanding of the world. A word of caution. This is not to say that the instrumental mode of knowing does not participate in formulating the expressive mode as it interacts with it, but even as it does so, the expressive mode is that which most crucially determines our behavior and the means by which we will accept or reject further messages from the surrounding environment.

19. The reader is asked to keep this point well in mind, for this point is very important for the purposes of our later discussion. The very basis upon which our research design was conceived is that there are differing images of blacks extant within our socio-cultural environment. Thus, what we will argue and attempt to show empirically is that

prejudice is multidimensional and not unidimensinnal when conceived of theoretically from the standpoint of imaging and images.

20. This discussion is also important because traditionally the study of prejudice in the social sciences has been carried out through the concepts of "beliefs" and "attitudes." We have already discussed difficulties that arise with the concept of "belief" and how the concept of image overcomes such difficulties. I declined to discuss the concept of image in relationship to attitudes until this point because it was necessary to clearly develop the theory of image in relation to social perception before bringing in the issue of attitudes.

21. Gustav Ichheiser, Appearances and Realities (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., Publishers, 1970), p. 158. Though much of my thinking had jelled on this subject prior to reading Ichheiser, his explication of social perception and moral judgment was helpful. See especially chapter 10, pp. 152-167.

22. Kenneth Boulding, The Image, Ann Arbor Paperbacks (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1961) p. 22. Boulding first published this work in 1956, but there seems to have been little interest on the part of social scientists to pick up on his concept of image at that time. In chapter 10 of that book he raises " . . . the question partly in jest but partly also in seriousness whether the concept of the image cannot become the abstract foundation for a new science, or at least a cross-disciplinary specialization." If our study has any merit, it is to be hoped that perhaps we, along with others, might further the applicability of the concept of image and develop a means for more clearly understanding the motivations that lie behind man's behavior.

23. For a discussion of images as a means of orientation, see Kevin Lynch, The Image of the City (Cambridge: The Technology Press & Harvard University Press, 1960), pp. 123-131.

24. Cathy Nolan, "Images," (unpublished paper, Beloit College, Beloit, Wisconsin, Summer term, 1971).

25. Alan Watts, "Western Mythology: Its Dissolution and Transformation," Myths, Dreams and Religion, ed. by Joseph Campbell (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1970), p. 14.

26. Jerome Bruner, On Knowing: Essays for the Left Hand (New York: Atheneum, 1966), p. 35.

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27. The reader is asked to keep in mind this idea of patterning for later use, because in a later chapter we will be empirically showing how varying images of blacks come together into coherent, meaningful patterns.

28. It is my contention that precisely because these two levels of myth and imaging have not been differentiated the social scientist has feared to tread lest he be accused of not being scientific. However, as we will see, the second level of myth and imaging is very much in the realm of operation for the social scientist who has a fear of not being scientific enough. It should be added, however, that it is not inconceivable that the social scientist could function in both areas, and indeed *should* if he wants to get the whole picture.

29. I am very much aware that there is reciprocal action on this level between the image as "in-formed" and the image as "forming for itself." See the discussion above on this matter.

30. Joseph Campbell, "Mythological Themes in Creative Literature and Art," *Myths, Dreams and Religion* (*op. cit.*,) p. 144.

31. It is the different plots or story lines that we will be attempting to locate in our next chapters as we develop a typology of image patterns of blacks held by whites in America, and empirically try to show from the data that they do exist.

32. Caroline Spurgeon, *Shakespeare's Imagery* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936), p. 213.

33. Seymour L. Gross and John Edward Hardy, *Images of the Negro in American Literature* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966), p. 25.

CHAPTER II

1. A word of caution. It is not intended here that this study is an inferential study in which an attempt will be made to infer from certain findings that certain segments of the American white population have a set of images, another segment has another set, etc. Rather, this study is much more modest and constitutes an earlier stage prior to any inferential study. Our task is to work internally with the theory and method and test it before any more substantial study is warranted.

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2. Nevitt Sanford, Scientific Director of the Wright Institute in Berkeley, California, assisted in formulating the ideas in the next few pages. Pages 44 through 51 are taken from a proposal that I wrote with his assistance and sumbitted to the National Science Foundation.

3. Joel Noel, "White Anti-Black Prejudice in the United States," *International Journal of Group Tensions*, Vol. 1 (1971), pp. 59-77.

4. See Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, *Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism*, Harper Torchbooks (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1969); and, Selznick and Steinberg, *The Tenacity of Prejudice*.

5. T. W. Adorno, Else Frenkl-Brunswik, David Levinson, and Nevitt Sanford, *The Authoritarian Personality*, Science Editions (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964).

6. This discussion of the problem of unidimensionality will take its dominant due from a classic study on prejudice, *The Authoritarian Personality*. This study stands as one of few very comprehensive studies of prejudice, yet as will become evident, it did not develop the dependent variable of prejudice as fully as it could and should have. Though the primary focus of this dissertation is on images of blacks, it is my considered judgment that *The Authoritarian Personality* with its primary orientation toward anti-Semitism can best be utilized to illustrate the significance of moving beyond unidimensionality, without losing sight of our primary focus on images of blacks as held by whites. In using *The Authoritarian Personality* for the present discussion, it is not intended to equate anti-Semitism and images of blacks on a broader scale.

7. Selznick and Steinberg, *The Tenacity of Prejudice*, p. 137.

8. Adorno, *et*. *al*., *The Authoritarian Personality*, p. 611.

9. *Ibid*., p. 638.

10. Cf. Chapter IV in Adorno, *et*. *al*., *The Authoritarian Personality*.

11. Glock and Stark, *Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism*.

12. Selznick and Steinberg, *The Tenacity of Prejudice*.

13. Norman Cohn, Warrant for Genocide, Harper Torchbooks (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1969), see Conclusion.

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14. May, "Religion and Attitudes Toward Negroes."

15. See pp. 48-49 above.

16. See for example, Ralph Ellison, *The Invisible Man*, A Signet Book (New York: The New American Library, Inc., 1947), pp. 7-16; the title essay in James Baldwin, *Notes of a Native Son* (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1955); Richard Wright, *Black Boy*, A Perennial Classic (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1945) *in passim*; or Kyle Haseldon, *Mandate for White Christians* (Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, n.d.), p. 28, where he writes, "White Christians withdraw from the racial struggle in confusion because *they fail to credit to Negroes the same kind of emotional realities that they expect of themselves*." [Emphasis added.] This last quotation catches well the sense of what we are attempting to discover in images whites hold of blacks, not only in terms of personal relationships, but also in terms of what blacks feel and want.

17. William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs, *Black Rage* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1968), Chapters 2 and 8. Cf. also Erik H. Erikson, "The Concept of Identity in Race Relations: Notes and Queries," and, Lee Rainwater, "Crucible of Identity: The Negro Lower-Class Family," both in *Daedalus*, Vol. 95, No. 1 (Winter, 1966).

18. This points directly to the issue at hand, i.e. what is the lived reality (image) for whites regarding personal relationships? Is it directly centered on blacks as human beings and concern with their well-being? or, is it perhaps a displaced concern with some *other* aspect of life that centers less directly with blacks? This comment by Charles Silberman illustrates the point: "They [whites] are upset by the current state of race relations, to be sure. But what troubles them is not that justice is being denied but that peace is." *Crisis in Black and White* (New York: Random House, 1964), p. 10.

19. Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), Chapters 3 and 4. On this same subject see Eldridge Cleaver, *Soul on Ice* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1968); and Grier and Cobbs, *Black Rage*, Chapters 3, 4, and 8.

20. For information on these incidents, see *Newsweek*, LXXVIII, 12 (Sept. 20, 1971), pp. 33-34. To wit, this slogan etched on the shirt of one white female. "Born Free--Keep Them Free. No Bussing."

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21. Paul B. Sheatsley, "White Attitudes Toward the Negro," *Daedalus*, Vol. 95, No. 1 (Winter, 1966) pp. 217-238.

22. *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, Otto Kerner, Chairman.

23. Some interesting responses that confirm this charge of non-involvement by The Commission are given in a small report put out by CBS following The Commission's Report. The survey was conducted by the Opinion Research Corporation, Princeton, N.J. and published July 9, 1968. It is entitled, "White and Negro Attitudes Towards Race Related Issues and Activities: A CBS News Public Opinion Survey."

24. *One Year Later: An Assessment of the Nation's Response to the Crisis Described by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, A study by Urban America, Inc. and the Urban Coalition (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1969). See especially Chapter 10.

25. The illustration from Gross and Hardy has significance for two reasons. First, I discovered their analysis of different patterns of images *after* I had begun to formulate my own conceptualization of different patterns that the image dimensions might take. To my surprise, I found that Gross and Hardy's analysis substantiated very closely what I was attempting, only not as fully. Second, Gross and Hardy are formulating patterns of images as they see them in two hundred years of literature on Negroes. Some of this literature is by white authors, but a great deal of it consists of patterns of images of blacks that black authors have put forth. This creates a nice bridge, for what these black authors are writing about is the way they see themselves as molded by the white society. In creating these molds, whites have externalized their images of blacks. Thus, in finding this source, I found one corroborating source from the black perspective for what I am doing from the white perspective.

26. By using Gross and Hardy's analysis, then, it is my intent to set the stage for the next portion of this chapter in which I will be describing five different image patterns on which the five dimensions described above can be ranged.

27. Gross and Hardy, *Images of the Negro in American Literature*, pp. 12-13.

28. *Ibid*., p. 16.

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29. Irving Howe, "Black Boys and Native Sons," A World More Attractive (New York: Horizon Press, 1963), p. 101, commenting on Richard Wright's Native Son (1940).

30. Gross and Hardy, Images of the Negro. . . ., p. 22.

31. Richard Wright, White Man Listen! (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1957), pp. 108-109.

32. The format for presenting these image patterns will be by way of a description of each, using actual data from interviews. It is intended that the reader will get a "feel" for each image pattern, and using life history materials adds a personal element. Thus, for each image pattern, something of a profile will be presented. As you read, keep in mind that the purpose for developing the different image patterns is, as with the five dimensions, to further analyze and differentiate the dependent variable and to give a more comprehensive and systematic understanding of black/white interactions.

33. I conducted these interviews in the spring months of 1970.

34. This proved to be very useful. As far as I am aware, there is in the literature on prejudice no such conceptualization of image patterns of Negroes; consequently, I had no materials from which to work. The interviews gave me that needed material and as will become clear, data from these interviews is used extensively to develop the image pattern profiles.

In developing these image patterns, keep in mind that something on the order of ideal types are being developed in each. This means that we are selecting the central elements that theoretically would be included in a pure representation of each image pattern. At the same time, however, I am aware that most likely no one individual would fall completely within one image pattern. We do hypothesize that in our analysis we will be able to identify people as being most nearly representative on one image pattern in one or another dimension, but as pointed out above, we hypothesize that even any one person will vary somewhat according to image pattern as we consider different dimensions. This sort of theory and analysis makes it possible to analyze and understand how people relate to blacks in a much more dynamic way than most studies of a similar nature.

One further point. As these image pattern profiles are developed, no attempt will be made to move dimension by dimension and show how one dimension varies five different ways. Nevertheless, the reader will easily be able to identify patterns of images that are a part of the five particular dimensions.

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35. Much of the material in the image patterns is taken directly from interview protocols. No attempt has been made to correct grammar, sentence structure, etc. The reader will be able to identify the interview material (1) by indention, and (2) by the signs, R=Respondent, and I=Interviewer.

36. Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 88-89. Gordon has an extended discussion of assimilation as Anglo-Conformity on pp. 88-114.

A word of explanation. This quote from Gordon, and the one to follow, have a generalized tone about them concerning assimilation because Gordon is concerned with analyzing the assimilation of many different types of groups in American society--racial, religious, and national. But accepting this fact, his analysis applies well when considering, as we are, the more restricted field of black/white interactions.

37. Ibid., p. 115. Gordon has a full discussion of the melting-pot form of assimilation on pp. 115-131.

38. The Anglo-Conformity and the melting-pot forms of assimilation stand in contrast to a third form noted by Gordon--cultural pluralism. This latter form of assimilation postulates ". . . the preservation of the communal life and significant portions of the culture of . . . immigrant groups within the context of American citizenship and political and economic integration into American society." Ibid., p. 85. See pp. 132-159 for a full discussion of this form.

The emphasis is on the right and necessity of allowing a group with its own unique cultural realities to occupy a particular territory for its own cultural identity. As will become clear, this form of assimilation fits closely with the pattern of images to be discussed in image pattern number IV.

39. Jean-Paul Sartre, Anti-Semite and Jew, Translated by George J. Becker, A Black Cat Book (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1962), p. 55.

40. Cited by Seymour L. Gross and John Edward Hardy, op. cit., p. 26. Jackson's article is "The American Negro and the Image of the Absurd," Phylon, 23 (1962), pp. 359-371.

CHAPTER III

1. There is nothing sacred about the number of 15.

The number interviewed in this phase was determined in large part by time and manpower.

2. This meant that we had to reject, for the time being, the general level of orientation in the social world and the study of images held toward minority groups other than blacks. A number of minorities were included for discussion in the interview schedule, including Jews and homosexuals. The one specific subject area of black/white relations was chosen (1) because this area of my knowledge and experience was most developed theoretically; (2) because of prior empirical research conducted in this area; and (3) because of personal interest.

These considerations should not be construed to imply, however, that the larger research design is considered abandoned, for it has potential for subsequent research, building on the conclusions of this study. It was decided, therefore, that if it could be shown (1) that the concept of image is a viable and suggestive theoretical concept, and (2) that this concept could be applied to just the one content area of black/white relations, then solid ground would have been established for continued research on the broader scope at a later time.

3. Lillian Smith, *Killers of the Dream*, Anchor Books, Revised and Enlarged Edition (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1963); Larry King, *Confessions of a White Racist* (New York: The Viking Press, 1971); Eldridge Cleaver, *Soul on Ice*, Delta Books (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1968); *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1964); Joel Kovel, *White Racism: A Psychohistory*, Pantheon Books (New York: Random House, Inc., 1970); Winthrop Jordan, *White Over Black*, Pelican Books (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books Inc., 1969); William Brink and Louis Harris, *Black and White*, A Clarion Book (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1967); Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944); Lerone Bennett, *Before the Mayflower*, Revised Printing (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Co., 1963); Calvin C. Hernton, *Sex and Racism in America* (New York: Grove Press, 1965); George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1971); Richard Wright, *Black Boy*, A Perrenial Classic (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1945); Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man*, A Signet Book (New York: Random House, Inc., 1947); Claude Brown, *Manchild in the Promised Land* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965); William Styron, *The Confessions of Nat Turner* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1966); H. Rap Brown, *Die, Nigger, Die* (New York: Dial Press, 1969); Seymour L. Gross and John Edward Hardy, *Images of the Negro in American Literature* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966).

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4. Let it be clear that this judging process was done precisely and primarily for increased theoretical validation of our schema at this stage of the research. It was hoped that by doing this the precision of the items chosen to represent each type of image pattern would be enhanced, thereby increasing the potentiality of making the empirical analysis to be done in the next chapter more significant and less contaminated. How successful we were will have to await the discussion in the next chapter.

5. Again there is nothing sacred about the number one hundred and four. The following are the reasons for having this number of items: (1) Approximately one hundred items made what we thought at the time would be a reasonable length for a research instrument; (2) of the items presented to the judges, many had a relatively high level of judging consistency, but in looking at them, it appeared that some of the items were still repetitive of others and were eliminated on that basis, (of course, these could be used at another time if we wanted to construct a parallel research instrument); (3) in considering the different image patterns on which they were ranged we arbitrarily chose to have approximately four items for each of the cells as they appear in Figure 2.1, p. 102. As a result of the judging however, not all cells ended up having exactly four items.

The following additional comment seems in order. In subsequent research it appears likely that we could use more items on a research instrument. In designing the instrument it was thought that about one hundred items would not fatigue the person filling out the schedule, and yet give us sufficient data with which to work. Whether or not this latter thought was a reasonable conclusion will be borne out in the next chapter in the analysis of the data. In addition, half of the people in the sample were also going to be interviewed for scoring on the Kohlberg Moral Judgment Scale (to be discussed later in this dissertation) and that, added to the task of completing the research instrument, would necessitate limiting the number of items included.

6. This interview was utilized to gather data pertaining to moral decision making. As noted in the Introduction, moral decision making will be analyzed in relation to imagery. The theory utilized for this is based on the work of Lawrence Kohlberg and will be presented in Chapter V. For now, the reader can observe the Kohlberg stories used in the interviews in Appendix E.

7. One's feelings are hardly expressed in the rather flat prose by which methodological procedures must necessarily be presented. But the amount of time, energy, and sheer perseverance that enters into just the "mechanics" of a study such as this boggles the mind and inspires in me the

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awe worthy of a minor god. I have learned a great deal from the to-be-expected errors made, tracks retraced, and lessons pounded home, and I think I now have a clearer understanding of (and, who know, perhaps even an appreciation for) why it is that professionals who stake their careers on empirical research demand, and sometimes prey upon, the "research assistants." My only fear is that I have not been capable of lucidly expressing the large blocks of time and amounts of energy that have absorbed me in the methodological necessities of this research. Without a doubt, it is the excitement of what I hope is a creative and potentially productive theoretical conceptualization that has kept alive a glimmer of professional, practical, and ethical worth and hope in me during the past two years. Whether this is an illusion or a dream capable of finding reality only time can tell.

CHAPTER IV

1. I wish to emphasize the use of the word "pattern" in patterns of imaging. In the analysis that follows the primary purpose will be to show that through a clustering analysis indexes can be constructed that act as indicators of specific dimensions and specific image patterns. It will then be possible to show that different patterns of imaging can be differentiated by analyzing the intra-pattern and inter-pattern correlations of dimensional indexes.

The "patterning" idea is emphasized because we do not argue that these indexes contain within themselves the "content" of the image patterns. Rather, the indicators on the research instrument and used in the indexes stand as "pointers" to the content found in the different image patterns described in Chapter II.

It will be important, however, in subsequent research to develop more indicators and expand the size of the indexes in order to make the indexes more comprehensive of the meaning in the image patterns. As it turns out, approximately 57 of the original 104 indicators were acceptable after careful analysis. For an exploratory study, this is quite a good number and stands as a firm basis from which to build more substantial indexes.

2. The point at which each individual's responses will be considered is after the data has been analyzed in the aggregate. To score individuals it is necessary to have carefully selected indicators that become indexes of a particular image pattern or a particular dimension and it is this selection that constitutes the analysis in this chapter. Then, and only then, can there by any basis for scoring each individual as to how he orients himself toward blacks.

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3. For a more extended discussion of gamma, see John G. Mueller, Karl F. Schuessler, and Herbert L. Costner, Statistical Reasoning in Sociology, Second Edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1970), pp. 279-292; or Dean J. Champion, Basic Statistics for Social Research (Scranton, Pa.: Chandler Publishing Company, 1970), pp. 219-224.

4. The judges were instructed to place the indicator in one image pattern if at all possible, but were told they could place it in more than one if it seemed paramount to do so. As is clear in Appendix B, some items were placed in multiple image patterns and it remained for the analysis of this data to more clearly specify an indicator and an image pattern.

In addition, it should be pointed out that the judges were not asked to place each indicator in a dimension, only in an image pattern. The indicators select themselves quite well according to dimensional aptitude.

5. If, as pointed out above, an indicator had been placed in more than one image pattern, the indicator was first placed in both image pattern correlation matrices. It was then selected for one specific image pattern on the basis of its overall higher average correlation with all other indicators on one matrix than on the other one.

6. An example of such an indicator is number 188 (integration may be necessary) which correlated above .20, but below .40 with only six of one hundred and three other indicators. Most of its associations were very close to the .00 mark and often in the negative. It was just too vague an indicator to find strong acceptance in one image pattern.

Another occurance that presented itself a number of times was the fairly high association of an indicator with a large number of other indicators from various image patterns. This made the indicator unusable.

7. The "clustering" was especially helpful and important on those indexes where a large number of indicators were available. For reasons probably due to theoretical bias and practical deficiencies of my own, there were some indexes that did not have more than two or three indicators remaining by the time the judges had done their work. Consequently, in some cases clustering analysis was not necessary, or not possible.

8. The clustering analysis is a long and tedious process, making it impractical to show the analysis for all indexes. However, the technique can be illustrated by going through the process for one index.

The index used to illustrate clustering is taken from image pattern I, dimension 3 (Cell C on Fig. 2.1, p. 102).

This index initially included indicators numbered 44, 45, 49, 50, and 53 on the research instrument. The first step was to average all the correlations in this matrix and by so doing establish a threshold below which a correlation could not be considered to be a part of the overall cluster. The correlation matrix for the index on dimension 3, image pattern I, appeared like this at the outset:

	44	45	49	50	53
44	X	.61	.13	.69	.37
45		X	.52	.66	.43
49			X	.37	.30
50				X	.48
53					X

The next step was to show how each indicator related to each other indicator, holding a threshold of .45 (meaning any indicator not correlating with another indicator .45 or above is not scored.) This step proceeds as follows:

44 - 50 (.69)
45 (.61)

45 - 44 (.61)
50 (.66)
49 (.52)

49 - 45 (.52)

50 - 44 (.69)
45 (.66)
53 (.48)

53 - 50 (.48)

This shows nicely (1) which indicators correlate with others and at what level of association, and (2) how often a particular indicator occurs in a cluster.

The next step was to score these indicators, giving the first figure in each cluster the highest score, the second figure one less, etc. For example, under indicator 44 indicator 50 gets a score of two and indicator 45 gets a score of one, since there are two indicators related to indicator 44 .45 or above. So the scoring is as follows:

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Indicator	Score & Frequency	Total
44	3,3	6
45	1,1,2	4
49	1	1
50	2,2,1	5
53	1	1

Now, the results show that indicators 44, 50, and 45 score the highest with a distinct break between them and the other two in total score. If we look back at the matrix, we see that indeed these three items do cluster together with their correlation coefficients of .61, .66, .69, with a strong break between them and the next highest indicator 53, correlating at .48, .43, and .37 with the other three. Thus, indicators 44, 45, and 50 will be used for this index.

9. In reality there should be twenty-five indexes, but no indicators were usable for dimension 4, image pattern II (Cell I in Fig. 2.1), and dimension 5, image pattern V (Cell Y in Fig. 2.1), leaving twenty-three.

10. From this point on, wherever possible, the name of each image pattern and each dimension will be used rather than calling them image pattern I, II, etc., or dimension 1, 2, etc. To recall, the names of each image pattern and dimension are listed below as they will be used for identification purposes:

Image Pattern I = Reactionary
Image Pattern II = Cautionary
Image Pattern III = Liberal
Image Pattern IV = Radical
Image Pattern V = Hyperidentified

Dimension 1 = Personal Characteristics
Dimension 2 = Actions and Desires
Dimension 3 = Personal Relationships
Dimension 4 = Place in Society
Dimension 5 = Source of the Racial Problem

11. I do want to impress upon the reader, however, my own conviction that since this research is basically exploratory in nature, the numbers of indicators that did prove valid is a strong indication that the empirical data supports well the theoretical statement. The intent of this study is to provide a solid foundation on which to build and this intent is realized.

12. Note that we are now about to carry on analysis *only within* image patterns and not across image patterns. This is so, because the purpose in the second part is to test for the independence of dimensions, *not* image patterns. Thus, if you refer to Figure 2.1, p. 102, the analysis now to be undertaken is on the vertical axis, and not the horizontal axis.

13. The "average correlation coefficient" is computed by totalling all the correlation coefficients appearing for all indicators cross tabulated in an index and then dividing by the number of coefficients appearing. This figure is much more useful for our purposes than showing each correlation coefficient, for it gives us immediately the overall strength of one index over-against another.

14. Adorno, *et*. *al*., *The Authoritarian Personality*, pp. 145 and 150.

15. Glock and Stark, *Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism*.

16. *Ibid*., p. 123.

17. *Ibid*.

18. The subjects used in the present sample were all Protestants.

19. The comparison of this study with the other two is, of course, not direct, for their primary concern was with prejudice toward Jews. However, I see no reason why the possibility of going beyond their work in relationship to Jews would not be just as applicable as it has been for this study concerning the relationship of whites to blacks. As we will see below, there is more to be discovered, and I think the same would apply to prejudice toward Jews.

20. For an example of scoring sheets with actual scores, see Appendix F.

21. I want to emphasize that this discussion is based on an overall appraisal of scoring for an individual and not on a single dimension. If scores are instead considered on the dimensional level, it is possible to get an even more refined look at an individual's "movement" as each dimension is considered. Thus, even though an overall score may show a person to have slightly more concentrated imagery in the liberal pattern, he may well score higher, in the specific, on the cautionary pattern with reference to the place in society index, dimension 4. This is to say that scoring can be done on *specific dimensions and on an overall image pattern basis*. Both would seem to be important in analysis.

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22. The scoring technique is described in Appendix F. A 100 score means that images in a particular image pattern are non-existent and a score of 500 means they are very strongly present. The reader is warned not to confuse these scoring numbers systems with the rating system for the research instrument shown in Appendix C. The scoring number system is, in fact, just the reverse of that rating system.

23. This will also be suggested by some of the analysis later across other image patterns.

But this discovery acts as a heuristic device pointing to a major difference in our approach to studying majority/minority relations as over-against other usual kinds of studies. The procedure in many other studies that do not try to delineate different and distinct orientation patterns toward a minority group is to try to make the wording in their research instruments what might be called "evasive." That is to say, the use of such words as "tends to" or "perhaps" or "possibly" are used. One reason for this is that since other studies are often only using one, sometimes several, scales to measure whether a person scores high, moderate, or low on highly stereotypical statements, the use of evasive wording allows a respondent to mark a statement higher, since in so doing he does not have to admit an absolute position on the matter. However, when an attempt is made to discover several different orientations toward a minority along with different dimensions, the need for evasive statements is greatly reduced because the person will find many different statements available, some of which hopefully hit his own position squarely and sharply on the head. Now, if one looks at the research instrument in Appendix C, it can be noted that the above understanding was not all together apparent when the instrument was constructed, and that some of the indicators are not distinctly enough worded. In fact, we left the wording of the items as stated in the interviews and readings thinking this would better represent the "flavor" of the statement. We found this unsatisfactory. Future work will of necessity have to strive for more precision in the indicators used, as well as increase the number available for use. This should also increase the specificity of the analysis and reduce the amount of intuitive inference that is often necessary in analysis.

In addition, the above discussion raises again the importance of the use of language as symbolic universe. This was brought home hard by one respondent who completed only half of the instrument and then quit in disgust because of the use of the term "Negro" instead of "black." What is disappointing in this, and yet supports our theory, is that this respondent, judging from scoring the items he did complete, was clearly located in the hyperidentified pattern. In a positive sense, this supports our theory because a

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person of the hyperidentified orientation would not be likely to accept the word "Negro." It is derogatory. In a negative sense, however, it is disappointment that he quit, for the numbers of people in the sample who were strong image pattern five types were very few. It seems supportable that we might use both designations, using "Negro" for indicators in image patterns I, II, and some of III, and using "blacks" in indicators for image patterns IV and V.

CHAPTER V

1. In this discussion I will be primarily concerned with sociology among the various social sciences, since it is the one field I know best. But I suspect that the development within other of the social sciences may well have been quite similar with reference to the question of morality, differing most in the "historical moment" at which certain questions were raised and dealt with.

2. Kenneth Benne, "The Responsible Behavioral Scientist: An Introduction," *The Journal of Social Issues*, XXI, No. 2, (April, 1965), p. 8.

3. Kenneth Benne, "The Philosopher and the Scientific Researcher in the Study of Education," *ibid*., p. 73.

4. Robert Merton, "Science and the Social Order," in Bernard Barber and Walter Hirsch, eds., *The Sociology of Science* (New York: Free Press, 1962), p. 26.

5. A caveat is certainly in order here. I have made the discussion in the text matter of fact and absolute in order to make a point. Admittedly there have been those "unsophisticates" to which Merton refers in the field of sociology and social science generally, but to my way of thinking there have also been the "more sophisticated." Some of the most brilliant of the social scientists have recognized and wrestled with the importance of social science theory, methods, and practice. Need I mention Weber and Durkheim? More recently, of course, is Talcott Parsons, Howard S. Becker, Robert N. Bellah, W. Lloyd Warner, and others in their own and diverse ways in sociology. In psychology and social psychology have been such lights as Abraham Maslow, Joseph Katz, Nevitt Sanford, Sigmund Freud, James M. Baldwin, Lawrence Kohlberg, Henry A. Murray, and others in their own and diverse ways. In addition, in sociology we are seeing an upsurge in consideration of moral questions with an emphasis on the sociology, psychology, ethics, and epistemology of social science itself.

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6. Bruno Bettleheim and Morris Janowitz, Dynamics of Prejudice (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 162.

7. From Lewis M. Killian, The Impossible Revolution? (New York: Random House, Inc., 1968), pp. 172-173.

8. Thomas F. Pettigrew, A Profile of the Negro American (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1964), pp. 196-200.

9. Glock and Stark, Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism, p. 102.

10. Selznick and Steinberg, The Tenacity of Prejudice. This quote is taken from a mimeographed copy of the book given to me personally by Mr. Steinberg. Therefore, page numbers for this reference are not given because they would not correspond to the book pagination.

11. In doing so, we (1) will move toward transcending the position of those who say morality should not be a part of such studies; (2) will focus the theoretical spotlight directly on the people being studied and their moral capacities.

12. Lawrence Kohlberg, "Moral Development," in The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, X, p. 483.

13. When we say "cognitive structure" we mean the following.

> Cognitive structure refers to rules for processing information or for connecting experienced events. Cognition . . . means putting things together or relating events and this relating is an active connecting process. . . . it means that the process of relating *particular* events depends upon prior *general modes* of relating developed by the organism. The most general modes of relating are termed "categories of experience." The categories are modes of relating *applicable to any experienced event*. . . .

Thus when we speak of morality as moral judgment we mean morality in general, universal and inclusive sense by which particular views of reality are judged and acted upon. We are not speaking of morality in a particularistic, ideologically bound way. This is emphasized later in the text also.

14. Lawrence Kohlberg, "Development of Moral Character and Moral Ideology," in M. Hoffman, ed., Review of Child Psychology (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1964), p. 422.

15. Ibid., p. 405.

16. Lawrence Kohlberg, "Stage and Sequence: The Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Socialization," Chapter 6 in David Goslin, ed., *Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research* (Rand, McNally and Company, 1969), pp. 393-394.

17. *Ibid*., p. 372.
Kohlberg himself has done a number of studies to test this hypothesis, as have other researchers. There is much evidence to support the hypothesis. Obviously, this is not the place to display that evidence, but along with much supportive evidence presented in the "Stage and Sequence. . ." essay, the following references give support to the theory. (1) Lawrence Kohlberg, "The Development of Children's Orientations Towards a Moral Order: 1. Sequence in the Development of Moral Thought," *Vita Humana*, 6 (1963), pp. 11-33. (2) James Rest, E. Turiel and Lawrence Kohlberg, "Level of Moral Development as a Determinant of Preference and Comprehension of Moral Judgments Made by Others," *Journal of Personality*, Vol. 37 (June, 1969), pp. 225-252. (3) Lawrence Kohlberg, "The Development of Moral Character and Moral Ideology," *op. cit*.. (4) P. Grim, L. Kohlberg and S. White, "Some Relationships Between Conscience and Attentional Processes," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 8 (1968), pp. 239-252. (5) L. Kohlberg and R. Kramer, "Continuities and Discontinuities in Children and Adult Moral Development," *Human Development*, Vol. 12 (1969), pp. 93-120.

> 18. . . . it is not at all clear that Stages 5 and 6 should be used to define developmental end points in morality. . . . Stage 4 is the dominant stage of most adults. It is possible to view Stages 4, 5, and 6 as alternative types of mature response rather than as a sequence. Indeed this is the view of some writers who view conventional-authoritarian (Stage 4) adult character types as opposed to humanistic (Stages 5 and 6) character types as representing alternative channels of personality crystalization.

Kohlberg, "Stage and Sequence. . . ." pp. 384-385.

19. Table 5.1 is adapted from Kohlberg's presentation of the stages in the following reference: Lawrence Kohlberg, "Moral and Religious Education and the Public Schools: A Developmental View," in T. R. Sizer, ed., *Religion and Public Education* (New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 1967).

20. We emphasize again the structural nature of moral judgment in this as opposed to a content nature of moral judgment. Kohlberg stresses that,

> . . . a number of the dimensions of moral judgment . . . are really matters of content rather than

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> cognitive form. [In summarizing this point he concludes] . . . universal and regular age trends of development may be found in moral judgment, and these have a formal-cognitive base. Many aspects of moral judgment do not have such a cognitive base, but these aspects do not define universal and regular trends of moral development.

Ibid., p. 375.
We must hasten then to note those "aspects" of moral judgment that have been shown, in cross-cultural studies, to be cognitive and universal and not particularistic and content laden. This we do immediately in the text.

21. Kohlberg adds this explanation to the meaning of "aspects."

> The aspects represent a list of all the basic moral questions, ideas or functions about which a complete moral theory must take a stand, potentially, if not actually, in any moral situation. Every stage may be looked at as a normative ethical theory, and every aspect defines a question, "What stand does your theory take on this idea as an area of concern?" A . . . [humanistic] (Stage 5 or 6) ethical theory may be asked to deal with every aspect; at other stages, aspects may not be differentiated from each other, this non-differentiation being characteristic of the particular stage. [He goes on to add that] To qualify as an aspect, an area of concern must be universal in at least two senses. First, every culture, or every elaborated moral theory must focus somehow on the aspect (i.e. it must be culturally universal). "States rights" or "the right to academic freedom" are not culturally universal topics; "rights" are. Secondly, aspects are universal in the sense that any moral situation may potentially raise the area of concern or require a stand on the aspect."

Both of these quotations are taken from a scoring manual entitled "The System of Aspects (for Issue Scoring)," p. 11. This is a mimeographed document furnished to me by Lawrence Kohlberg and his associates upon request.

22. Table 5.3 is taken from Kohlberg, "Stage and Sequence . . ." pp. 381-382. This table is an example of how each of the aspects has been defined according to stage based on empirical data gathered by the use of dilemma stories in interview situations. On the basis of stage definitions for twenty-five aspects in all, trained scorers are then able to analyze interview protocols based on specific Kohlberg developed moral dilemma stroies and rate each subject according to stage on each aspect. This was the procedure followed in this study and the results will be discussed in the next chapter.

Perhaps this is a good point to explain that Kohlberg's work has been done primarily with children. But the basic theory and method are adaptable to adult moral judgment as well and has been by other researchers. One such case is a study by Norma Haan, M. Brewster Smith, and Jeanne Block entitled, "Moral Reasoning of Young Adults: Political-Social Behavior, Family Background, and Personality Correlates," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. X, No. 3 (1968), pp. 183-201. In this study they argue, and I would concur, that "The morality of young children has been studied more thoroughly than later morality, but a clearer understanding of the latter is crucial since it is the more critical issue for society." (p. 183).

23. Kohlberg, "Stage and Sequence . . . ." p. 386.

CHAPTER VI

1. Kohlberg, "Stage and Sequence . . . ." p. 402.

2. Stanley Milgram, "Some Conditions of Obedience and Disobedience to Authority," Human Relations, 18, (1965) pp. 57-75.

3. Kohlberg, "Stage and Sequence . . . ." p. 396.

4. Haan, Smith and Block, "Moral Reasoning of Young Adults . . . ."

5. As is shown in the section on the logic of the sampling procedure, the original eighty people were stratified according to educational level. Approximately one fourth of the people chosen for the sample had a high school diploma or less, one fourth were first year college students, one fourth were fourth year college students, and one fourth had an A.B. degree and were outside of the circumscribed college community per se. For the specific people to be interviewed, an attempt was made to select at random a similar number from each of these educational stratifications. (The reason for this will become evident later.) As it turned out, eleven interviewees were from the high school diploma or less group, nine were from the first year college level, nine were from the fourth year of college level, and eight were from the A.B. or above level. We had originally wanted ten in each group for interviewing. But through inability to arrange interviews conveniently for all, and for other sheerly pragmatic reasons, the break down results are as shown above.

6. The scores shown here represent the dominant image pattern and the dominant stage of moral judgment. Scoring method for the May instrument is shown in Appendix F, and the scoring process for the Kohlberg stories was discussed in Chapter V in the course of explicating Kohlberg's theory.

7. The reader is cautioned to be aware that the discussion in this section is based on a rather absolute definition of stage and image pattern for the subjects. At a later point in time, and especially after more refinement of the image pattern indexes has been accomplished by further research, it will be possible to refine our analysis even further. But I think it is evident that some very interesting analysis is possible at this stage of development as well and can be used effectively, as is the intent of this research overall, as a heuristic device.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

During the interview you will be asked to respond to questions, some of which are general in nature, others that are more specific. I want you to take as much time as you want to respond as completely as you can.

* * *

To begin the interview, I want to ask you a few questions concerning friends.

1. How important are friends in your life?

2. What attracts you to a potential friend?

3. What is the main thing friends have to offer, or can give, a person?

4. What do you enjoy doing with your friends?

* * *

I am going to present you with a series of cards. Each card has a short statement. I would like to have you read the statement out loud and then tell me what it brings to mind. How do you react to it?

5. "Not too long ago a U.S. Senator made the following statement, 'We shall always have the poor with us.'"

   a. Why?

   b. What causes poverty?

   c. How do you feel about it?

6. "Before a person can be given equal rights as a citizen, he has to show that he deserves them."

   (If respondent agrees, ask)

   a. What needs to be shown?

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b. How can they show it?

(If respondent disagrees, ask)

a. Why not?

7. "Men who are regularly unemployed are usually trying to avoid work."

a. Is there anything we can do about it?

b. Who is to blame?

c. How does that make you feel?

* * *

8. What is it that most troubles you or that you most dislike as you go about your business from day to day? I am thinking generally now, in terms of your community and your country.

a. Why is that so?

b. What is it about this (thing, group, person) that makes (it, them, he, she) like that?

c. How does (do) (he, she, it, they) act?

d. What (is, are) (he, she, it, they) attempting to do?

e. How (is, are) (he, she, it, they) attempting to do what (he, she, it, they) want(s) to do?

f. What has caused (his, her, its, them) to be the way (he, she, it, they) are?

9. What is it that particularly pleases you or that you most like as you go about your business from day to day? I am thinking generally now, in terms of your community and your country?

(ask questions a through f from above question)

10. Are there any groups or organizations of people whom you think might interfere with your having a decent life?

(If response is yes, ask)

a. Which ones?

b. Why might (that one, they) interfere?

c. What are they like?

d. How do they operate and how does that interfere?

e. Why does that (group, organization) exist?

* * *

I am going to present you with a series of cards. Each card has a short statement. I would like to have you read the statement out loud and then tell me what it brings to mind. How do you react to it?

11. "Integration of all schools and communities must be our main concern right now."

(If respondent agrees, ask)

a. Why?

b. How?

(If respondent disagrees, ask)

c. Why not?

12. "Black Power"

a. Why do you say that?

b. How does it operate?

c. Why is there such a thing as Black Power?

13. "Unemployment among Negroes is almost double that of white unemployed."

(If respondent disagrees, ask)

a. This is what the economic experts say. But just assume it were so, why do you think it would be?

b. Who or what is to blame?

c. What can be done about it?

(If respondent agrees, ask a, b, c, without introductory statement.)

14. "With some exceptions, Negro men seem to be especially interested in white women."

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(If respondent disagrees, ask)

a. Why do we so often hear this said?

b. How does it make you feel?

(If respondent agrees, ask)

c. Why do you suppose that is so?

d. What can be done about it?

e. How does that make you feel?

15. "If I were planning to move, I would seriously consider moving into a Black community."

(If respondent agrees, ask)

a. Why?

b. What kind of effect would it have?

(If respondent disagrees, ask)

c. Why not?

d. What would happen if you did?

16. "Each of us is clearly responsible for the race problem in this country."

(If respondent agrees, ask)

a. Why?

b. How?

c. What can be done about it?

d. By whom?

(If respondent disagrees, ask)

e. Why not?

f. Who or what is?

g. What can be done about it?

h. By whom?

17. "Most Negroes seem to live in the poorer sections of the city and have less money than the average."

(If respondent agrees, ask)

a. Why?

b. How does it happen that way?

c. Should anything be done about it?

* * *

I would like to change our topic now. I have here a story which is unfinished. I would like to have you read it. Then please use your imagination to finish the story, answering the questions that follow the story.

18. "A mother gets a phone call from her son, who tells her that he has been arrested for homosexual activities."

a. What exactly has happened?

b. Why has it happened?

c. What does the mother do?

d. What should be done about it?

I am going to present you with a series of cards again. Each card has a short statement. I would like to have you read the statement out loud and then tell me what it brings to mind. How do you react to it?

19. "Sexual intercourse should primarily be toward the end of child bearing."

(If respondent agrees, ask)

a. Why?

(If respondent disagrees, ask)

b. Why not?

20. "Sex education should be taught in grade schools and beyond."

(If respondent agrees, ask)

a. Why?

b. Of what value is it?

(If respondent disagrees, ask)

c. Why not?

d. Should it ever be taught in schools?

* * *

I would like to change the topic again. I have here another story which is unfinished. I would like to have you read it. Then please use your imagination to finish the story, answering the questions that follow the story.

21. "A man is driving down a street. Suddenly he sees a crowd of students from the local university marching toward him, carrying picket signs demanding an end to the war, demanding a stop to the "racist, pig police," and demanding a more relevant college education."

a. What does (he, she) do?

b. What else does (he, she) see?

c. What does (he, she) feel toward the marchers?

d. What does (he, she) feel about their demands?

e. What do you feel should be done about it?

* * *

I am again going to present you with a series of cards. Each card has a short statement. I would like to have you read the statement out loud and then tell me what it brings to mind.

22. "The main purpose of education is to prepare a student for a job."

(If respondent agrees, ask)

a. How can that best be done?

b. What kind of job is best to work toward?

c. Why?

d. Does education have any other purpose?

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(If respondent disagrees, ask)

e. Why?

f. What is its purpose?

g. How is that best achieved?

23. "Higher education is basically a privilege and not a right."

(If respondent agrees, ask)

a. Why?

b. What or who determines who should have that privilege?

(If respondent disagrees, ask)

c. Why?

d. How can it be accomplished?

24. "Relatively speaking, not many Negroes are in college today."

(If respondent agrees, ask)

a. Why?

b. Should there be something done about that?

c. How?

(If respondent disagrees, ask)

d. Should there be more?

e. Why?

f. How?

* * *

I am going to give you another set of cards with statements on them. Again, please read each one out loud and then tell me what it brings to mind.

25. "On the average, Jews are wealthier than Christians."

26. "Jews are less likely than Christians to oppose Communism."

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27. "Because Jews are not bound by Christian ethics, they do things to get ahead that Christians generally will not do."

28. "International banking tends to be dominated by Jews."

29. "Among themselves, Jews think Christians are ignorant for believing Christ was the Son of God."

30. "Jews want to remain different from other people, and yet they are touchy if people notice these differences."

* * *

To complete the interview I have some general questions I would like to ask you.

31. What is your understanding of Democracy?

    a. Do we have it?

32. Whom do you think runs the government?

    a. What are they like?

    b. How do they operate?

    c. Where does that leave the average man concerning the government?

33. What do you consider to be the most dangerous threat to our present form of government?

    a. Who is involved?

    b. What (is, are) (it, they) like?

    c. What ought to be done about it?

* * *

I am going to present you with another series of cards. Each card has a short statement. I would like to have you read the statement out loud and then tell me what it brings to mind. How do you react to it?

34. "Nowadays people are more afraid to speak their minds on controversial social issues than they used to be."

35. "There's little use writing to public officials because they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man."

36. "It's hardly fair to bring children into the world the way things look for the future."

* * *

37. How do you feel things are shaping up for the future in America?

38. Are you pretty much satisfied with what you have been able to be and do?

39. Do you think that it is necessary that we ever reach the point where the different races and nationalities can live together in this country in harmony?

(If response is yes, ask)

a. What would it look like?

b. How can it be accomplished?

(If response is no, ask)

c. Why not?

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APPENDIX B

JUDGING RESULTS FOR IMAGE PATTERN INDICATORS

(N=44)

Item No.	-----Image Pattern Numbers----- I	II	III	IV	V	N.A.	Combinations
1.	.2727	.4308	.0909	----	.0227		.0454 (1&2)
2.	.0454	----	.0454	.2045	.5681		.1363 (4&5)
3.	----	----	----	.0454	.9545		
4.	.9545	----	----	----	----		.0454 (1&2)
5.	----	.6818	.1590	.0909	----		.0681 (1&2-.0227) (2&5-.0227) (3&4-.0227)
6.	.0909	.0227	.1818	.4545	.0681		
7.	.1131	.0681	----	.0909	.6136		.1131 (1&5-.0681) (4&5-.0454)
8.	.8636	.0227	----	----	.0227		.0909 (1&2-.0454) (1&5-.0454)
9.	.7045	.2500	----	----	----		.0454 (1&2)
10.	.3863	----	.0454	.0454	.3181	.1818	.0227 (4&5)
11.	.8400	.0454	.0227	----	----		.0909 (1&2)
12.	----	.0454	.2954	.4545	----		.2045 (4&5-.0909) (2&3-.0227) (3&4-.0909)
13.	----	----	.0681	.1818	.7045		.0454 (3,4,5-.0227)
14.	.8636	.0454	----	----	----		.0681 (1&2)
15.	----	.7954	.1590	----	----		.0454 (2&3)
16.	.0909	.2045	----	.0681	.5454		.0909 (4&5-.0454) (3&4-.0227) (1&2-.0227)

Item No.	-----Image Pattern Numbers-----						
	I	II	III	IV	V	N.A.	Combinations
17.	----	----	.0227	.0909	.8863		
18.	.1590	.7727	.0681	----	----		
19.	----	----	.0909	.4308	.3636		.1131 (4&5-.0681) (3&4-.0227) (3,4,5-.0227)
20.	.8636	.0454	.0227	----	----		.0454 (1&2-.0227) (1&3-.0227)
21.	.0681	.0454	.1363	.3409	.1590	.1590	.0909 (4&5-.0681) (3&4-.0227)
22.	.0227	.0454	.4308	.4545	----		.1590 (3&4-.1363) (2,3,4-.0227)
23.	----	.7500	.1363	----	----		.1131 (2&3)
24.	----	----	----	.0227	.9318		.0454 (4&5-.0227) (3&5-.0227)
25.	.2500	.1131	.0227	.1363	.3636	.0227	.0909 (4&5-.0681) (2&5-.0227)
26.	----	.0909	.8181	----	----		.0681 (2&3-.0454) (4&5-.0227)
27.	.7045	.0909	----	----	----	.0227	.0909 (1&2-.0681) (1,2,3-.0227)
28.	.0909	.0909	.0227	.2727	.3636		.1363 (4&5)
29.	.0227	.6818	.2045	----	----		.0909 (1&2-.0454) (2&3-.0454)
30.	.2272	.5000	.0681	.0909	----	.0909	.0227 (1&2)
31.	.1131	.0681	----	.0681	.5909	.0454	.0909 (1&5-.0227) (1&2-.0227) (4&5-.0454)
32.	----	----	.0454	.6590	.1590		.0681 (4&5-.0454) (3&4-.0227)
33.	.3636	.4090	.0227	.0227	----	.0227	.1590 (1&2-.1363) (2&3-.0227)

Item No.	-----Image Pattern Numbers-----						
	I	II	III	IV	V	N.A.	Combinations
34.	.1131	.2045	.0454	.1131	.1818		.3409 (1&2-.0681) (4&5-.1590) (1&5-.0227) (3&4-.0454) (1&4-.0227) (1,5,4-.0227)
35.	.6136	.1131	.0909	----	----		.1818 (1&2-.1363) (1,2,3,4-.0454)
36.	.0454	.6590	.2045	----	----	.0227	.0681 (2&3)
37.	.3636	.3863	.0454	----	----		.2045 (1&2)
38.	----	.4090	.4090	.0454	----	.0227	.1131 (2&3)
39.	.0909	.3409	.2272	.1131	.0681	.0454	.0681 (1&2-.0454) (1&5-.0227)
40.	----	.3863	.4545	.0454	----		.0909 (2&3)
41.	.0227	.8863	----	----	----	.0227	.0454 (1&2-.0227) (2&3-.0227)
42.	----	----	----	.0227	.9318		.0454 (4&5)
43.	----	.0909	.1131	.4090	.1818		.2045 (3&4-.0909) (4&5-.0909) (3,4,5-.0227)
44.	.2727	.4308	.0909	----	----		.2045 (1&2-.1590) (2&3-.0454)
45.	.4308	.3863	.0227	----	----		.1590 (1&2-.1363) (2&3-.0227)
46.	----	----	----	.0909	.7954	.0227	.0909 (4&5)
47.	.3181	.1363	.0454	.1818	.1818	.0681	.0681 (1&2-.0454) (1&5-.0227)
48.	.7727	.0909	.0227	----	----		.1131 (1&2-.0909) (1&4-.0227)
49.	.2954	.2954	----	----	----		.4090 (1&2-.2727) (1,2,3-.0681) (1,2,5-.0454) (1&5-.0227)

Item	-----Image	Pattern	Numbers-----				
No.	I	II	III	IV	V	N.A.	Combinations
50.	.8400	.0227	----	.0227	----		.1131 (1&2-.0909) (1&5-.0227)
51.	.0909	.4772	.0454	----	----		.3863 (1&2-.2500) (1,2,3-.1363)
52.	----	.0227	.0227	----	.9318		.0227 (4&5)
53.	.3181	.4545	----	----	.0681		.1590 (1&2-.0681) (1&4-.0227) (2&4-.0227) (1,2,5-.0227) (1,2,4,5-.0227)
54.	.0227	.0227	.0909	.3181	.3636		.1818 (4&5-.1363) (3&4-.0227) (2,3,4,5-.0227)
55.	----	----	.0454	.8863	----		.0681 (3&4-.0227) (4&5-.0227) (3,4,5-.0337)
56.	.0909	.7500	.0454	----	----		.1131 (2&3)
57.	----	.0454	.7045	.2045	.0227		.0227 (3&4)
58.	----	----	.0909	.5909	.0909		.2272 (4&5)
59.	.2272	.5909	.0909	----	----	.0227	.0681 (2&4-.0227) (1&2-.0227) (1,2,3-.0227)
60.	.0227	.3409	.5000	----	----	.0454	.0909 (2&3-.0681) (3&4-.0227)
61.	.3409	.5681	.0454	----	----		.0454 (2&3-.0227) (1&2-.0227)
62.	.3863	.0454	----	.1131	.2045	.0454	.2045 (1&5-.1363) (1,2,3-.0227) (4&5-.0454)
63.	.6136	.1363	----	----	----	.0227	.2272 (1&2-.2045) (1,2,3-.0227)
64.	----	----	----	.1363	.7727	.0454	.0454 (4&5)
65.	.5909	.1131	----	----	----		.2954 (1&2-.1590) (4&5-.0227) (1&5-.0909) (3,4,5-.0227)

XUM

Item	-----Image	Pattern	Numbers-----				
No.	I	II	III	IV	V	N.A.	Combinations
66.	.7954	.1131	.0227	----	----		.0681 (1&2-.0454) (1,2,3-.0227)
67.	.5227	.2272	----	----	----	.0681	.1818 (1&5-.0454) (1&2-.0681) (1,2,3-.0227) (all-.0454)
68.	----	----	----	.5227	.2500		.2272 (4&5)
69.	----	.1363	.4545	.1590	.1363	.0454	.0681 (3&4)
70.	----	.1131	.5454	.2500	----		.0454 (3&4-.0227) (2&3-.0227)
71.	.0227	----	.0227	.2272	.5227	.0227	.1818 (4&5)
72.	----	----	----	.2272	.7500	.0227	
73.	----	.5454	.3409	.0681	----		.0454 (1&2-.0227) (3&4-.0227)
74.	----	.0454	.1363	.6818	.0909		.0454 (4&5)
75.	.6818	----	----	.0454	----	.0227	.2272 (1&5-.2045) (2&5-.0227)
76.	.0227	.0681	.0909	.5000	.0681	.0681	.1818 (4&5)
77.	----	.0681	.7954	.0454	----		.0909 (3&4-.0454) (2&3-.0227) (1&2-.0227)
78.	.3181	.1590	.0681	.3636	----		.0681 (3&4-.0227) (1&2-.0227) (2&3-.0227)
79.	----	.3863	.2500	.2954	----		.0681 (2&4-.0227) (3&4-.0227) (4&5-.0227)
80.	----	.0227	.1131	.2727	.4545	.1131	
81.	----	.0454	.7727	.0909	----	.0454	.0454 (3&4-.0227) (4&5-.0227)
82.	.4308	.4308	----	----	----		.1363 (1&2-.1131) (1,2,3-.0227)

XUM

Item	-----Image Pattern Numbers-----						
No.	**I**	**II**	**III**	**IV**	**V**	**N.A.**	**Combinations**
83.	.2045	.5227	.1131	----	----		.1590 (2,3,4-.0227) (2&3-.0909) (1&2-.0454)
84.	.0227	----	.1131	.2727	.3409	.0227	.2272 (4&5-.1590) (3&4-.0227) (3,4,5-.0454)
85.	----	.6590	.1131	.0227	----		.2045 (1&2-.0454) (2&3-.1590)
86.	.5454	.2954	.0681	----	----		.0909 (1&2-.0681) (1&4-.0227)
87.	.0227	.2272	.2272	.2727	.2045	.0227	.2272 (3,4,5-.0681) (4&5-.0681) (1&4-.0227) (1&5-.0227) (3&4-.0227)
88.	----	----	.5681	.1818	.1131		.1131 (3,4,5-.0227) (4&5-.0454) (3&4-.0454)
89.	----	.8636	.1131	----	----		.0227 (2&3)
90.	----	----	.0227	.5227	.1131		.3409 (4&5-.3181) (3,4,5-.0227)
91.	----	.0909	.6136	.1590	----	.0454	.0909 (3&4-.0454) (2&3-.0454)
92.	----	.1818	.6136	.0909	----		.1131 (3&4-.0454) (2&3-.0681)
93.	.0454	----	----	----	.9318	.0227	
94.	----	.6136	.2727	.0227	----		.0909 (2&4-.0227) (2&3-.0681)
95.	----	----	----	.0227	.9545		.0227 (4&5)
96.	----	----	.1363	.7727	.0681		.0227 (3&4)
97.	.0227	----	.1131	.3636	.1818		.3181 (4&5-.2500) (2,3,4,5-.0227) (3&4-.0454)
98.	----	.1131	.0681	.6590	.0227	.0227	.1131 (3&4-.0681) (2&4-.0227) (4&5-.0227)

Item	-----Image	Pattern	Numbers-----				
No.	I	II	III	IV	V	N.A.	Combinations
99.	.8400	.0909	----	----	----		.0681 (1&2-.0454) (2&3-.0227)
100.	.2954	.4090	.0227	.0227	.0227		.2272 (1&2)
101.	----	.5454	.3409	.0454	----		.0681 (2&3)
102.	.0227	.0454	.0681	.5454	.1818		.1363 (4&5-.0909) (3&4-.0227) (1&4-.0227)
103.	.1590	.5454	.0227	.0681	----		.2045 (1&2-.1131) (1&5-.0227) (1&4-.0227) (1,2,5-.0227) (2,4,5-.0227)
104.	----	.0227	.1131	.4308	.2954		.1363 (4&5)

APPENDIX C

IMAGE PATTERN RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

INSTRUCTIONS

This booklet contains a number of topics to which I want you to respond. Each topic is introduced with a brief statement. As you read the statement, I want you to focus your mind's eye on that topic. As you focus, you will find that "pictures" (or images) relating to the topic come to your mind almost immediately.

What I want is for you to note the "pictures" you have. To help you do this, I have listed a number of words and phrases under each topic, each of which makes up a kind of "picture." Some of these will match exactly the "pictures" you have in your mind on a topic, some will match only in part, some won't match at all.

After each word or phrase you will find five possible choices (numbered 1 through 5) that will help you note whether or not the word or phrase matches your mental "picture." These choices are:

(1) this "picture" is very definitely and strongly present and it is a very clear picture as I focus;

(2) this "picture" is present and it is a somewhat clear picture as I focus;

(3) this "picture" is present, but it is a rather poorly defined picture as I focus;

(4) this "picture" is barely present and it is not at all clear as I focus;

(5) this "picture" is not at all a part of what I see as I focus on this topic.

Do not spend a lot of time on any one word or phrase, but please do respond to all of them. (Mark only one choice for each word or phrase.) You will note also that each topic is a unit in itself and I would ask that after you have finished each topic and made your choices that you not go back and change them.

Please be assured that your responses will be completely confidential. What I want are your responses and not someone else's, so please fill out this booklet alone.

I thank you very much for your help and would welcome your comments on how this might be improved.

* * * * *

> I want you now to turn your attention to Negroes. Perhaps you know many, some, or no Negroes at all, but regardless of your contact with Negroes, you do have pictures in your mind of them as does anyone else. It is to these pictures that I wish to turn. Please remember that as in your earlier choices there are no right or wrong choices. I am interested in your pictures in and of themselves.

As you consider Negroes, please begin to focus your mind's eye on the personal characteristics of Negroes--by nature what they are like, how they feel, what their inner make-up is.

Begin by reading Statement K and then complete it by making one choice after each item on the 1-5 scale at the right.

K. As I focus my mind's eye on Negroes, the pictures I get of their personal characteristics is that Negroes....

(1) (2) (3) (4) (5)

-are a retiring type people.......... ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(1)

-are the most dislocated and deprived people on the American landscape........................ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(2)

-can save our society, if anyone can.. ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(3)

-are sexually undisciplined........... ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(4)

-haven't understood themselves well enough yet.......................... ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(5)

-have special qualities and differences that must be recognized............. ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(6)

-often hate the white man............. ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(7)

XUM

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
-have a fine ear for rhythm...........						(8)
-lack imagination.....................						(9)
-are the embodiment of a living hell..						(10)
-are happy-go-lucky...................						(11)
-are struggling to achieve selfhood...						(12)
-live a life that is representative of all life lifted to the heights of pain, drama and tragedy..............						(13)
-have a limited intellectual ability............................						(14)
-have lacked direction, but are gradually coming around..............						(15)
-are not interested in forgiving and forgetting what whites have done to them.............................						(16)
-are heroes who serve as the symbol of the problems suffered by modern man in general......................						(17)
-need to learn some good discipline and they'll be o.k..................						(18)
-suffer shock after shock of ostracism						(19)
-are highly religious.................						(20)
-have to laugh to keep from crying....						(21)
-are very similar to all other men and women...........................						(22)

* * * * *

Now I would ask you to please change the orientation of your focus and focus on your pictures of how Negroes act and what they desire. Perhaps some of you will say that you don't necessarily see them everyday, or even much at all. That is all right as far as this is concerned. All of us have pictures of how people act whether we see them often, seldom, or not at all.

XUM

Begin by reading Statement L and then complete it by making one choice after each item on the 1-5 scale at the right.

L. As I focus my mind's eye on Negroes, the pictures I get of how Negroes act, feel, think and interpret their situation are that....

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
-time will improve their lot..........						(23)
-the greatest heroes in American history are black martyrs............						(24)
-they want to revolutionize the society............................						(25)
-the American system can achieve equality for all......................						(26)
-they are often not good parents......						(27)
-integration will cause Negroes to lose their unique qualities..........						(28)
-whites need to show Negroes how to pull themselves up..................						(29)
-all the radical talk shows a kind of self-pity.........................						(30)
-Negroes are determined to defend themselves by force of arms if necessary...........................						(31)
-whites need to listen to Negroes and accept their directinn as well...						(32)
-they are acting kind of uppity sometimes...........................						(33)
-they are not interested in accepting American society as it is............						(34)
-law and order must be maintained.....						(35)
-perhaps the harshness that still remains in their lives should be played down since it is getting less.						(36)
-seem to want more than they deserve..						(37)

XUM

(1) (2) (3) (4) (5)

-the progress being made toward equality should be emphasized........ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(38)

-protest and idealistic demands are largely irrelevant............... ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(39)

-whites have the responsibility to show Negroes that they can make it in this society...................... ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(40)

-being too pushy will hurt their cause................................ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(41)

* * * * *

Now let's change your orientation again, this time focusing on your pictures of the personal relationships between Negroes and whites.

Begin by reading Statement M and then complete it by making one choice after each item on the 1-5 scale at the right.

M. As I focus my mind's eye on Negroes, the pictures I get of personal relationships between Negroes and whites are that Negroes....

(1) (2) (3) (4) (5)

-more than anyone else deserve to looked up to........................ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(42)

-make excellent co-workers............ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(43)

-often don't seem to appreciate the great deal that whites have done for them............................ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(44)

-usually are not good neighbors....... ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(45)

-can teach me more than my parents or any white people ever could on many things............................ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(46)

-tend to fear their white fellowman... ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(47)

-have their world and I have mine..... ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(48)

-intermarrying with whites is just not accepted in this society............. ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(49)

(1) (2) (3) (4) (5)

-are to be rigorously excluded from associating with white members of the opposite sex..................... ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(50)

-can't say that I am to blame for their problems...................... ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(51)

-give me a sense of being completed more than anyone or anything else can ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(52)

-tend to think quite differently than I do......................... ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(53)

Still focusing on personal relationships between Negroes and whites, now read Statement N and complete it by making one choice after each item on the 1-5 scale at the right.

N. As I focus my mind's eye on Negroes, the pictures I get of personal relationships between Negroes and whites are that....

-no person who is not black can understand the feelings, needs, and experience of Negroes, not even poor whites......................... ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(54)

-if I don't work to change things, I am part of the problem............... ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(55)

-I don't have much chance for any contact with them.................... ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(56)

-I should get involved with them more. ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(57)

-I feel personally conscience stricken over what has been done to Negroes... ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(58)

-I don't understand them.............. ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(59)

* * * * *

I would like to have you orient your focus now on your pictures of the place of Negroes in relation to the larger society--where do they fit in, what part do Negroes have in society, what role does society have toward Negroes.

XUM

Begin by reading Statement O and then complete it by making one choice after each item on the 1-5 scale at the right.

O. As I focus my mind's eye on Negroes, the pictures I get of the place of Negroes in the larger society are that Negroes....

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
-are becoming more and more middle class..................................						(60)
-tend to want to follow others rather than lead.....................						(61)
-are strangers in the house of America..............................						(62)
-tend to dilute educational standards and the standard of living...........						(63)
-are in many ways more important in the growth of America than the white man..................................						(64)
-would rather live with their own kind..................................						(65)
-are usually more fitted for laboring jobs..................................						(66)
-are generally poor.....................						(67)
-have a special history that gives them unique insight and contributions to our society......................						(68)
-will soon move permanently into full participation in American life.......						(69)
-should simply be treated as Americans						(70)
-have a culture that has the original, the ingenious and the arousing about it...........................						(71)

Still focusing on the place of Negroes in relation to the larger society, now read Statement P and complete it by making one choice after each item on the 1-5 scale at the right.

XUM

P. As I focus my mind's eye on Negroes, the pictures I get of the place of Negroes in the larger society are that....

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
-the history of the Negro is the history of America....................						(72)
-integration may be necessary.........						(73)
-the development of black political and economic power is more important than integrating right now...........						(74)
-integration is out of the picture....						(75)
-almost all whites have some racism in them...............................						(76)
-more federal and state laws are needed to solve the race issue...............						(77)
-we don't need more laws, just more guts to enforce the ones we have......						(78)
-individuals relating to each other--black and white--will do most to solve the race issue..................						(79)
-the Negro situation is symbolic of all men................................						(80)
-the country is committed spiritually to integration......................						(81)

* * * * *

Finally, I would ask you to change your orientation again and this time focus your mind's eye on the source of the racial problem in this country--who and what is involved and what might be done to help the situation.

Begin by reading Statement Q and then complete it by making one choice after each item on the 1-5 scale at the right.

Q. As I focus my mind's eye on Negroes, the pictures I get of the source of the racial problem in this country are that Negroes....

XUM

(1) (2) (3) (4) (5)

-have not taken responsibility for themselves.................... ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(82)

-failed to get a good enough education ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(83)

-rightfully see the white man as oppressor......................... ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(84)

-need to achieve more.................. ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(85)

-in many cases aren't capable of achieving the standards that whites have................................ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(86)

-are hemmed in by walls of race....... ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(87)

-have been "colonized" by whites...... ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(88)

-have not understood the white style of life well enough yet.............. ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(89)

-are victims of white racism.......... ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(90)

Still focusing on the source of the racial problem in this country, now read Statement R and complete it by making one choice after each item on the 1-5 scale at the right.

R. As I focus my mind's eye on Negroes, the pictures I get of the source of the racial problem in this country are that....

(1) (2) (3) (4) (5)

-too much is made of difference in color........................... ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(91)

-most important is acceptance of Negroes and getting them into our society............................ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(92)

-whites are inferior to Negroes....... ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(93)

-the difficulty is primarily economic. ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(94)

-everything about white society is racist to the core................... ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(95)

-my place is in changing white people's view of Negroes............. ___ ___ ___ ___ ___(96)

XUM

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
-whites do not understand the Negro situation........................	___	___	___	___	___	(97)
-achievement by Negroes as a means of solving the racial issue has been over-emphasized......................	___	___	___	___	___	(98)
-lots of Communists use Negroes as stooges...............................	___	___	___	___	___	(99)
-liberal do-gooders are trying to push Negroes..........................	___	___	___	___	___	(100)
-whites need to help Negroes set goals and achieve them...............	___	___	___	___	___	(101)
-whites seem unconcerned about the damage their intolerance inflicts....	___	___	___	___	___	(102)
-the government is pushing integration too hard............................	___	___	___	___	___	(103)
-whites give words but little action..	___	___	___	___	___	(104)

* * * * *

XUM

APPENDIX D

ORIGINAL ITEM POOL FOR DEVELOPMENT OF INSTRUMENT

I. REACTIONARY

Dimension 1 - Personal Characteristics (Fig. 2.1, Cell A):

1. -are a retiring type people.
4. -are sexually undisciplined.
8. -have a fine ear for rhythm.
9. -lack imagination.
11. -are happy-go-lucky.
14. -have a limited intellectual ability.
20. -are highly religious.

Dimension 2 - Actions and Desires (Fig. 2.1, Cell B):

27. -they are often not good parents.
30. -all the radical talk shows a kind of self-pity.
33. -they are acting kind of uppity sometimes.
35. -law and order must be maintained.
37. -seem to want more than they deserve.

Dimension 3 - Personal relationships (Fig. 2.1, Cell C):

44. -often don't seem to appreciate the great deal that whites have done for them.
45. -usually are not good neighbors.
48. -have their world and I have mine.
49. -intermarrying with whites is just not accepted in this society.
50. -are to be rigorously excluded from associating with white members of the opposite sex.
51. -can't say that I am to blame for their problems.
53. -tend to think quite differently than I do.
59. -I don't understand them.

Dimension 4 - Place in society (Fig. 2.1, Cell D):

61. -tend to want to follow others rather than lead.
63. -tend to dilute educational standards and the standard of living.
65. -would rather live with their own kind.
66. -are usually more fitted for laboring jobs.
67. -are generally poor.
75. -integration is out of the picture.

Dimension 5 - The source of the racial problem (Fig. 2.1, Cell E):

82. -have not taken responsibility for themselves.
86. -in many cases aren't capable of achieving the standards that whites have.
99. -lots of Communists use Negroes as stooges.
100. -liberal do-gooders are trying to push Negroes.
103. -the government is pushing integration too hard.

* * * * *

II. CAUTIONARY

Dimension 1 - Personal Characteristics (Fig. 2.1, Cell F):

1. -are a retiring type people.
5. -haven't understood themselves well enough yet.
15. -have lacked direction, but are gradually coming around.
18. -need to learn some good discipline and they'll be o.k.

Dimension 2 - Actions and Desires (Fig. 2.1, Cell G):

23. -time will improve their lot.
29. -whites need to show Negroes how to pull themselves up.
30. -all the radical talk shows a kind of self-pity.
33. -they are acting kind of uppity sometimes.
36. -perhaps the harshness that still remains in their lives should be played down since it is getting less.
37. -seem to want more than they deserve.
38. -the progress being made toward equality should be emphasized.
40. -whites have the responsibility to show Negroes that they can make it in this society.
41. -being too pushy will hurt their cause.

Dimension 3 - Personal Relationships (Fig. 2.1, Cell H):

44. -often don't seem to appreciate the great deal that whites have done for them.
45. -usually are not good neighbors.
49. -intermarrying with whites is just not accepted in this society.
51. -can't say that I am to blame for their problems.
53. -tend to think quite differently than I do.
56. -I don't have much chance for any contact with them.
59. -I don't understand them.

Dimension 4 - Place in Society (Fig. 2.1, Cell I):

60. -are becoming more and more middle class.
61. -tend to want to follow others rather than lead.

67. -are generally poor.
73. -integration may be necessary.
79. -individuals relating to each other--black and white--will do most to solve the race issue.

Dimension 5 - Source of the Racial Problem (Fig. 2.1, Cell J):

82. -have not taken responsibility for themselves.
83. -failed to get a good enough education.
85. -need to achieve more.
86. -in many cases aren't capable of achieving the standards that whites have.
89. -have not understood the white style of life well enough yet.
94. -the difficulty is primarily economic.
100. -liberal do-gooders are trying to push Negroes.
101. -whites need to help Negroes set goals and achieve them.
103. -the government is pushing integration too hard.

* * * * *

III. LIBERAL

Dimension 1 - Personal Characteristics (Fig. 2.1, Cell K):

6. -have special qualities and differences that must be recognized.
12. -are struggling to achieve selfhood.
22. -are very similar to all other men and women.

Dimension 2 - Actions and Desires (Fig. 2.1, Cell L):

26. -the American system can achieve equality for all.
38. -the progress being made toward equality should be emphasized.
40. -whites have the responsibility to show Negroes that they can make it in this society.

Dimension 3 - Personal Relationships (Fig. 2.1, Cell M):

57. -I should get involved with them more.

Dimension 4 - Place in Society (Fig. 2.1, Cell N):

60. -are becoming more and more middle class.
69. -will soon move permanently into full participation in American life.
70. -should simply be treated as Americans.
73. -integration may be necessary.
77. -more federal and state laws are needed to solve the race issue.
79. -individuals relating to each other--black and white--will do most to solve the race issue.

81. -the country is committed spiritually to integration.

Dimension 5 - Source of the Racial Problem (Fig. 2.1, Cell O):

88. -have been "colonized" by whites.
91. -too much is made of differences in color.
92. -most important is acceptance of Negroes and getting them into society.
101. -whites need to help Negroes set goals and achieve them.

* * * * *

IV. RADICAL

Dimension 1 - Personal Characteristics (Fig. 2.1, Cell P):

2. -are the most dislocated and deprived people on the American landscape.
6. -have special qualities and differences that must be recognized.
7. -often hate the white man.
12. -are struggling to achieve selfhood.
19. -suffer shock after shock of ostracism.
22. -are very similar to all other men and women.

Dimension 2 - Actions and Desires (Fig. 2.1, Cell Q).

28. -integration will cause Negroes to lose their unique qualities.
32. -whites need to listen to Negroes and accept their direction as well.
34. -they are not interested in accepting American society as it is.

Dimension 3 - Personal Relationships (Fig. 2.1, Cell R):

43. -make excellent co-workers.
54. -no person who is not black can understand the feelings, needs, and experience of Negroes, not even poor whites.
55. -if I don't work to change things, I am part of the problem.

Dimension 4 - Place in Society (Fig. 2.1, Cell S):

68. -have a special history that gives them unique insight and contributions to our society.
69. -will soon move permanently into full participation in American life.
70. -should simply be treated as Americans.
71. -have a culture that has the original, the ingenious and the arousing about it.

74. -the development of black political and economic power is more important than integrating right now.
76. -almost all whites have some racism in them.
79. -individuals relating to each other--black and white--will do most to solve the race issue.
80. -the Negro situation is symbolic of all men.

Dimension 5 - Source of the Racial Problem (Fig. 2.1, Cell T):

84. -rightfully see the white man as oppressor.
88. -have been "colonized" by whites.
90. -are victims of white racism.
96. -my place is in changing white people's view of Negroes.
97. -whites do not understand the Negro situation.
98. -achievement by Negroes as a means of solving the racial issue has been over-emphasized.
102. -whites seem unconcerned about the damage their intolerance inflicts.
104. -whites give words but little action.

* * * * *

V. HYPER-IDENTIFIED

Dimension 1 - Personal Characteristics (Fig. 2.1, Cell U):

2. -are the most dislocated and deprived people on the American landscape.
3. -can save our society, if anyone can.
13. -live a life that is representative of all life lifted to the heights of pain, drama and tragedy.
17. -are heroes who serve as the symbol of the problems suffered by modern man in general.
19. -suffer shock after shock of ostracism.

Dimension 2 - Actions and Desires (Fig. 2.1, Cell V):

24. -the greatest heroes in American history are black martyrs.
28. -integration will cause Negroes to lose their unique qualities.
31. -Negroes are determined to defend themselves by force of arms if necessary.
34. -they are not interested in accepting American society as it is.

Dimension 3 - Personal Relationships (Fig. 2.1, Cell W):

42. -more than anyone else deserve to be looked up to.
43. -make excellent co-workers.
46. -can teach me more than my parents or any white people ever could on many things.

52. -give me a sense of being completed more than anyone or anything else can.
54. -no person who is not black can understand the feelings, needs, and experiences of Negroes, not even poor whites.
58. -I feel personally conscience stricken over what has been done to Negroes.

Dimension 4 - Place in Society (Fig. 2.1, Cell X):

64. -are in many ways more important in the growth of America than the white man.
71. -have a culture that has the original, the ingenious, and arousing about it.
72. -the history of the Negro is the history of America.
80. -the Negro situation is symbolic of all men.

Dimension 5 - Source of the Racial Problem (Fig. 2.1, Cell Y):

84. -rightfully see the white man as oppressor.
90. -are victims of white racism.
93. -whites are inferior to Negroes.
95. -everything about white society is racist to the core.
97. -whites do not understand the Negro situation.
102. -whites seem unconcerned about the damage their intolerance inflicts.
104. -whites give words but little action.

APPENDIX E

KOHLBERG MORAL DILEMMA STORIES

SITUATION I:

In Europe, a woman was near death from a special kind of cancer. There was one drug that the doctors thought might save her. It was a form of radium that a druggist in the same town had recently discovered. The drug was expensive to make, but the druggist was charging ten times what the drug cost him to make. He paid $200 for the radium and charged $2,000 for a small dose of the drug. The sick woman's husband, Heinz, went to everyone he knew to borrow the money, but he could only get together about $1,000 which is half of what it cost. He told the druggist that his wife was dying, and asked him to sell it cheaper or let him pay later. But the druggist said, "No, I discovered the drug and I'm going to make money from it." So Heinz got desperate and broke into the man's store to steal the drug for his wife.

SITUATION II:

The drug didn't work, and there was no other treatment known to medicine which could save Heinz's wife, so the doctor knew that she had only about 6 months to live. She was in terrible pain, but she was so weak that a good dose of a pain-killer like ether or morphine would make her die sooner. She was delirious and almost crazy with pain, and in her calm periods, she would ask the doctor to give her enough ether to kill her. She said she couldn't stand the pain and she was going to die in a few months anyway.

(continued on following page)

(Kohlberg stories con't.)

SITUATION III:

Joe is a 14 year old boy who wanted to go to camp very much. His father promised him he could go if he saved up the money for it himself. So Joe worked hard at his paper route and saved up the $40 it cost to go to camp and a little more besides. But just before camp was going to start, his father changed his mind. Some of his friends decided to go on a special fishing trip, and Joe's father was short of the money it would cost. So he told Joe to give him the money he had saved from the paper route. Joe didn't want to give up going to camp, so he thought of refusing to give his father the money.

SITUATION IV:

Joe wanted to go to camp but he was afraid to refuse to give his father the money. So he gave his father $10 and told him that was all he made. He took the other $40 and paid for camp with it. He told his father the head of the camp said he could pay later. So he went off to camp, and the father didn't go on the fishing trip.

Before Joe went to camp, he told his older brother, Alexander, that he really made $50 and that he lied to his father and said he had made $10. Alexander wonders whether he should tell his father or not.

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APPENDIX F

SCORING TECHNIQUE FOR MAY IMAGE PATTERN INSTRUMENT

Scoring an individual's responses to locate his dominant pattern of imagery proceeds on the following logic. Recall that each individual was asked to rate every image indicator with one rating ranging from one to a possible five. (See Appendix C, Instruction sheet for the research instrument.) On that rating system, a one rating meant that the image indicator was "very definitely and strongly present," a five rating meant that the image indicator was "not at all a part of what I see," and the other three possible ratings came inbetween these two extremes. However, for scoring purposes the numbering sequence was reversed so that a rating of one received a score of five. This was done because in scoring we wanted a higher numerical score to coincide with the presence of a particular image indicator. And in comparing the May scores with the Kohlberg scores, it would be less confusing if the numbers read in the same direction.

In addition, the responses were scored using three digit scores rather than one digit scores, e.g. a 500 for a single scoring rather than a 5, in order to get a better picture of the respondent's overall range of responses.

See the score sheets following for illustration of this scoring system:

SAMPLE IMAGE PATTERN SCORE SHEET

Res. #064

Dimension 1 - Personal Characteristics

	I	II	III	IV	V
	4.100	1.100	22.500	2.100	3.100
	9.100	5.100		19.100	17.200
	11.400	15.300			
	14.100				
Totals	700	500		200	300
Averages	175	167	500	100	150

Dimension 2 - Actions and Desires

	30.100	29.100	26.100	32.300	24.100
	33.100	35.200	38.100		31.200
	37.100	36.100			34.100
		41.200			
Totals	300	600	200		400
Averages	100	150	100	300	133

Dimension 3 - Personal Relationships

	44.100	56.300	57.200	55.100	46.100
	45.100	59.200		58.300	
	50.100				
Totals	300	500		400	
Averages	100	250	200	200	100

Dimension 4 - Place in Society

	61.100		69.400	68.300	72.400
	63.100		70.500	71.200	
	66.100				
Totals	300		900	500	
Averages	100		450	250	400

Dimension 5 - Source of the Racial Problem

	82.100	83.100	91.500	87.400	
	99.100	85.100	92.500	90.400	
	103.200	101.200		96.100	
				97.200	
				102.100	
				104.200	
Totals	400	400	1000	1400	
Averages	133	200	500	233	

Totals	608	767	1750	1083	783
Average	122	192	350	217	196

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SAMPLE IMAGE PATTERN SCORE SHEET

Res.#006

Dimension 1 - Personal Characteristics

	I	II	III	IV	V
	4.200	1.200	22.500	2.300	3.100
	9.100	5.400		19.300	17.200
	11.200	15.400			
	14.100				
Totals	600	1000		600	300
Averages	150	333	500	300	150

Dimension 2 - Actions and Desires

	30.300	29.100	26.500	32.400	24.100
	33.200	35.500	38.400		31.400
	37.300	36.200			34.300
		41.400			
Totals	800	1200	900		800
Averages	267	300	450	400	267

Dimension 3 - Personal Relationships

	44.200	56.100	57.300	55.200	46.100
	45.100	59.100		58.100	
	50.100				
Totals	400	200		300	
Averages	133	100	300	150	100

Dimension 4 - Place in Society

	61.100		69.400	68.400	72.200
	63.300		70.500	71.400	
	66.200				
Totals	600		900	800	
Averages	200		450	400	200

Dimension 5 - Source of the Racial Problem

	82.200	83.200	91.500	87.400	
	99.100	85.300	92.500	90.400	
	103.200	101.300		96.200	
				97.300	
				102.400	
				104.200	
Totals	500	800	1000	1900	
Averages	167	267	500	317	

Totals	917	1000	2200	1567	717
Average	183	250	440	313	179

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